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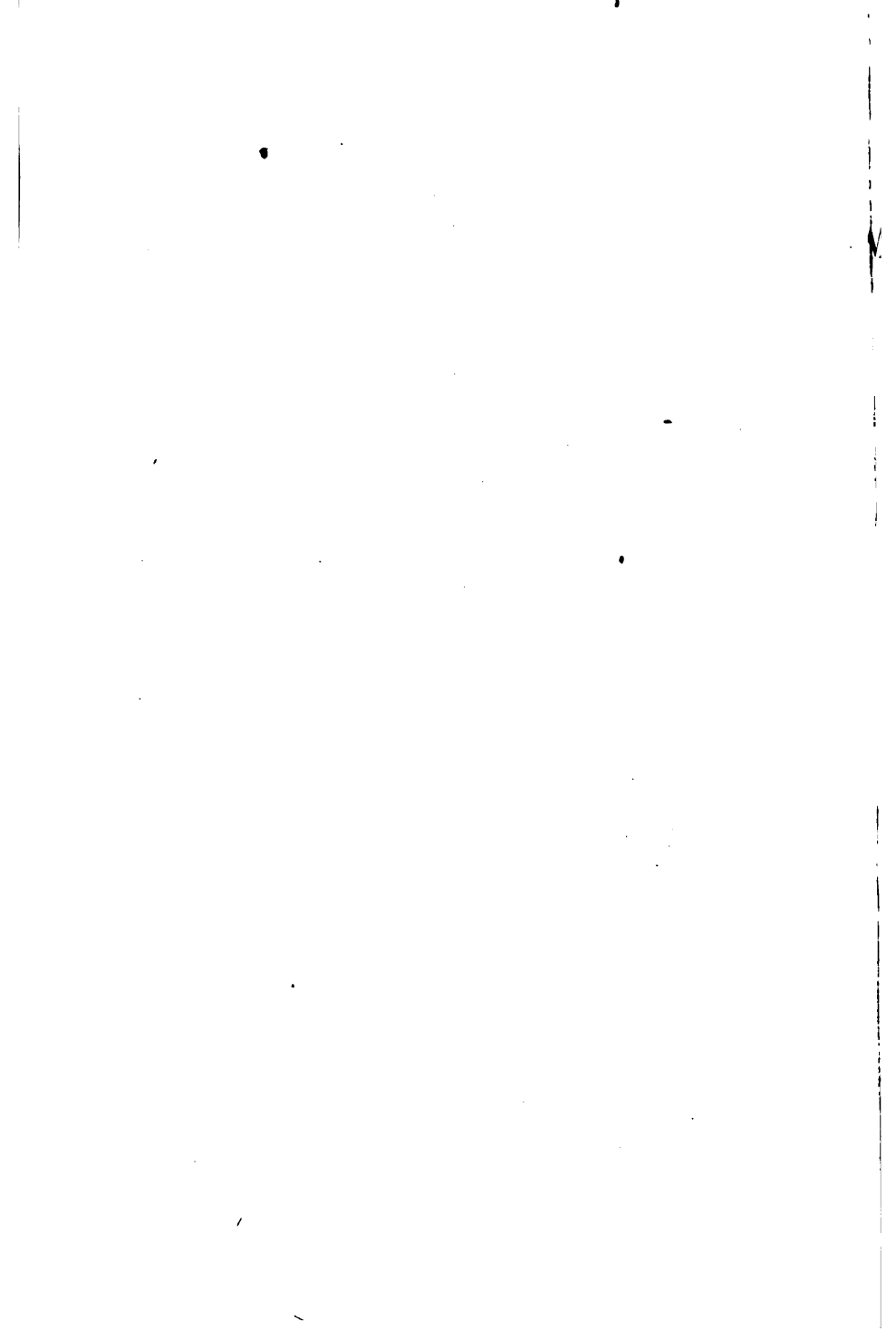


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**ESSENTIALS**  
**IN**  
**MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY**

**BY**

**DANIEL C. KNOWLTON, Ph.D.**

**HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL  
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY**

**AND**

**SAMUEL B. HOWE, A.M.**

**ACTING HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, SOUTH SIDE  
HIGH SCHOOL, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY**

**LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.**

**FOURTH AVENUE & 30TH STREET, NEW YORK**

**PRAIRIE AVENUE & 25TH STREET, CHICAGO**

**1917**

*Essentials in European History Series*  
ESSENTIALS IN EARLY EUROPEAN HISTORY  
ESSENTIALS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY  
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MARCH 17, 1927

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## PREFACE

AN understanding of contemporary Europe is largely dependent upon an appreciation of two lines of development which have their origin back in the early years of the eighteenth century. The one gave rise to modern methods of carrying on business and industry; the other gave us a new conception of the relation of government and the governed. In other words, to form a proper estimate of existing conditions in Europe we must follow step by step the revolutionary changes in commerce and industry and the tremendous advance of democracy which have in a special manner characterized the history of the past century and a quarter.

The effort of the authors of the present volume has been to present in bold relief these particular phases of modern life, mindful at the same time of the necessity of maintaining throughout a proper perspective. This task becomes increasingly difficult as we approach our own day. The march of events, however, has been so rapid that correspondingly more space has been devoted to contemporary history than to the earlier epochs. An effort has been made throughout the volume to emphasize only the salient points in European progress and to present them in a form attractive to high school students, showing the interrelation of these facts and emphasizing especially their bearing upon the two aspects of the history of Europe to which reference has already been made.

Those teachers who favor placing special emphasis upon the development of England in presenting the history of Europe will, we trust, find sufficient material for their purpose in the accompanying pages. The authors, however, have sought to avoid giving undue prominence to English development, realizing that other states on the continent have played no inconsiderable part in world progress. Their object has been rather to give the high school student just that residuum of facts and

impressions about Europe, as a whole, which should be the possession of every well-informed man of affairs. The volume does not represent in any sense a compromise between European and English history. It follows very closely the outlines prepared for the *History Teachers Magazine* a few years ago by Dr. A. M. Wolfson of the Julia Richman High School, New York City, in association with one of the authors of the present volume. These outlines represented an attempt to put in definite syllabus form the ideas of the framers of the report of the Committee of Five. This syllabus has been carefully tested out in the class room, and the present volume has been prepared in harmony with these experiences. The authors trust it will serve to crystallize the divergent views as to what should be taught in the secondary school in the field of contemporary history and will also give an added impetus to instruction of a broader and more cosmopolitan character. In this event it will have served a most useful purpose and will amply repay the time and effort expended.

The authors' thanks and appreciation are due to Professor George Mathew Dutcher of Wesleyan University and to Mr. H. F. Biddle of the Plainfield, New Jersey High School, for critical reading of the proofs, to Mr. J. C. Ware of the South Side High School, Newark, New Jersey, for help in securing illustrations, and to Mrs. J. M. Bensing of the North Plainfield, New Jersey Schools for assistance with the collateral reading references.

The authors wish to acknowledge their indebtedness for the following illustrations: to the Avery Library of Columbia University, for several of the illustrations; to Stevens Institute, for "John Stevens's Locomotive;" to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for "The Modern Locomotive;" to Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt and to the *New York Times*, for "Le Bourget 30th October, 1870" by Detaille; to *Il Progresso*, for "The Victor Emmanuel Monument;" and to the New York Telephone Company, for "The Telephone Exchange, Old and Modern."

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# MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

## CHAPTER I

### SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN EUROPE IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. **Introduction.** — With the opening of the eighteenth century the history of Europe centres largely about two countries whose beginnings carry us back into the early Middle Ages, France and England. Germany, or the Holy Roman Empire as it was officially known, had sunk back into a position of insignificance. The religious wars, which closed with the Treaties of Westphalia in 1648, had left her so weak politically and so exhausted economically that she had ceased to play any considerable part in European affairs. It was no longer necessary for Europe to reckon with Spain, or to fear the weight of her influence. This was because of the disasters which had accompanied the efforts of Philip II to stem the tide of Protestantism, especially his supreme move, the sending of the Spanish Armada (1588). Although France, like Germany, had been torn asunder by a series of religious struggles, known as the Huguenot Wars (1562–1598), she was fortunate in having at her command a succession of great men like Henry IV, Richelieu, and Mazarin, who not only healed the wounds occasioned by this long struggle but created by their labors a state so strong as immediately to play a leading part in shaping the history of all western Europe. The period in her history from 1661 to 1715 marks the reign of one of her greatest kings, Louis XIV, who practically dominated his age and was the representative

The Holy  
Roman Empire

The Spanish  
Armada

France

Louis XIV

## 2 ESSENTIALS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

ruler of the latter half of the seventeenth century. In the Middle Ages the Holy Roman Empire had been the centre of interest; then the rising states of France and England. They dropped out of sight for a time as the result of the long and bitter warfare which began in the reign of the English king, Edward III, and with the Renaissance period Spain became the great European state; with the end of the eighteenth century, however, France and England came into their own again and Spain sank into insignificance.

**2. The Establishment of Constitutional Government in England.** — England at the beginning of the eighteenth century began to stand for certain lines of development; the same thing may also be said of France. In England the people had been recognized as the real source of authority, enjoying an amount of liberty unknown upon the continent of Europe. They had been admitted to an important share in the government and were conspicuous for their share in the management of their own affairs. It had been a long struggle. The Stuart kings who came to the throne at the very opening of the seventeenth century (1603) tried to rule as absolute monarchs and were so unmindful of the rights of the people that the second king of that line, Charles I, plunged England into the Great Civil War. He was striving to establish his right to rule England without a parliament, denying to the people any participation in the government through their representatives. Even though for the moment England was ruled by the Rump Parliament, his execution established the right of the people to a voice in their government. When his son, Charles II, was restored to the throne in 1660, the right of the people to share *with* the King in the government was clearly recognized, as the Declaration of Breda, which outlined the conditions of the Restoration, provided for the settlement by *parliament* of such vexed questions as the relation between church and state, and the rights and privileges to be accorded to those who had supported the Puritan cause. Charles II found it neces-

The Great  
Civil War

The Restoration

sary first to select a single man and later a group of men to act as intermediaries between himself and parliament, that he might work in harmony with their wishes. He found these in men like the Earl of Clarendon and the Earl of Danby and in the little group known as the Cabal. In the latter is to be seen the beginnings of the modern cabinet. His successor, James II, however, undertook to rule England as tyrannically as had his father, Charles I, before him, but not by dismissing parliament. He assumed the right to dispense with such laws as interfered with his freedom of action, suspending the operation of others when they came in conflict with his authority. His object seems to have been to make England Catholic. His subjects, however, rose in rebellion and he fled the country, taking refuge at the court of Louis XIV in France. This was the Revolution of 1688. Parliament issued an invitation to his Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange to come over from Holland and rule England, and in drawing up the terms upon which the new sovereigns should rule the country they established the idea or principle firmly in England that parliament was not alone equal to the king and a partner with him in the management of affairs, but that it was really his superior; that from it he derived all his power and authority. This great document was known as the Bill of Rights. This, with the Toleration Act of 1689, practically removed for all time the question of religion from English politics as a paramount issue. The former provided in one of its clauses that the ruler must be a member of the Church of England; the Toleration Act gave to every Protestant, other than Unitarians, the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. Catholics were excluded from the provisions of the act, as were also the Jews. It was long after this before they were permitted to hold political office and were allowed the right to worship as they pleased. With one exception, that of Prussia, England stood alone among the nations of Europe in the recognition of the princi-

Revolution of  
1688

The Bill of  
Rights

The Toleration  
Act

#### 4 ESSENTIALS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

ple of toleration. It is interesting to note that this principle was also recognized at a very early date in certain of our American colonies. The Act of Settlement (1701), which may also be considered as one of the direct consequences of the Revolution of 1688, made provision for a Protestant succession by recognizing the Electress of Hanover as next in succession to the branch of Stuarts represented by William and Mary and Anne.

**3. The Party System.**—At the opening of the eighteenth century England was ruled by parties. These were known as Whigs and Tories. The party system of government, which is so familiar in America to-day, developed in England very slowly and had its origin in the reign of Charles II (1660-1685). The king had tried to show favor to the Catholics by a Declaration of Indulgence, removing some of the restrictions which had been placed upon them. The result was a great outburst of opposition from the Protestant element in parliament and throughout the country, who even went so far as to try to exclude from the throne the king's brother, who was known to be a devout Catholic. A bill was introduced called the Exclusion Bill, and the supporters of the bill were known as Petitioners; its opponents as Abhorrrers. The struggle extended to the country at large, and the two parties into which the people divided gradually came to be known as Whigs and Tories, designations attached to the Petitioners and Abhorrrers as nicknames. By the close of the reign of James II, England was divided between these two parties, and the invitation sent to William and Mary in 1688 was signed by their recognized leaders. When William tried to secure the passage through parliament of such measures as he desired, he found it necessary to consult with the leaders of the majority party. At first he tried to use the leaders of both parties, but as the Whigs were in the majority at the time he was forced to narrow his choice to the single party and formed what was known as the Whig Junto. This marked the beginning of what is

The Act of  
Settlement

The Declaration  
of Indulgence  
and Exclusion  
Bill

The Whigs  
and Tories

The Whig Junto

called cabinet government.<sup>1</sup> Any measure which the king desired must first meet with the approval of this group of ministers, who then made it their business to see that it met with favorable action at the hands of the party in parliament. They stood between the king and parliament and were in the course of time looked up to by the country as the real heads of the government. George I did not trouble himself to consult with each member of his cabinet; he preferred to deal with one of their number, who could act as their spokesman, and so the office of prime minister arose. It should also be added that this king did not care to attend the meetings of the cabinet, as he understood very little of what happened there, because of his ignorance of the language; and this arrangement, whereby all business was transacted through a single representative of their number, seemed to answer every need. Walpole was the first great prime minister (1721-1742), but he brought the office and the party system into some disrepute by his unblushing corruption. He cynically remarked of a group in the House of Commons, "Every man has his price," and secured and maintained his leadership and that of his party in the House of Commons by buying votes, conferring titles, bestowing commissions in the army and navy, and utilizing the various expedients at his command to secure the necessary number of votes for his legislation.

The Prime  
Minister

Walpole

4. **England in 1740.**— The English system of party government, which was the only government of its kind in Europe, was thoroughly established by 1740. It could be looked upon as essentially democratic in character, i.e., based upon the idea that the people were the centre and source of all power. When we come to examine the two parties which ruled the country at this time, we find that these did not draw their membership from the entire male population. In the first place there were great numbers who were excluded from voting and holding office by the provisions of the Toleration Act and such meas-

Voting

<sup>1</sup> See Sec. 2 on the Cabal.



## 6 ESSENTIALS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

ures as the Test and Corporation Acts passed in the reign of Charles II. Then again the system of representation, which had been fixed long before this time, provided only for the representation of certain communities. The conditions of voting were fixed at the same time as the representation and varied according to the particular district which returned mem-

### Representation



AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ELECTION

In this spirited engraving by Hogarth, the great cartoonist and satirist of the eighteenth century, is shown the method of "Polling the Vote" at an English election. Voting was by word of mouth, and every opportunity for intimidation and fraud existed. This was one of the abuses corrected by law during the nineteenth century.

bers to the House of Commons. In consequence of these arrangements only the wealthy mercantile and commercial classes in the towns and cities and the squires, or country gentlemen with considerable estates in the rural districts, enjoyed the right either to elect members of parliament or to offer themselves as candidates for election to the lower house. These classes, then, ruled England through their respective parties. The Whigs were

powerful in the urban communities; the Tories in the country districts. In general the Tories could be found supporting the king and royal authority; they were the conservative element in the community. The Whigs, on the other hand, were a more aggressive, radical body, inclined to protest against any unusual exercise of authority on the part of the king or of his ministers. They were keenly interested in the expansion of England's trade and in the development of her commerce. The Tories naturally represented the agricultural interests of the country.

**Party Platforms**

The gradual increase in the control of parties may be seen by examining the reigns of the English rulers from the accession of William and Mary through the reign of George I (1688-1727). In Anne's reign the queen, though opposed to the Whigs, was powerless to prevent the war of the Spanish Succession or to bring it to a close. Although war was declared by the Tories the struggle was essentially a Whig affair, waged to further their commercial interests. The Whigs soon ousted the Tories, directing the course of events from 1705 to 1710. The Tories finally succeeded in getting the upper hand and concluded a treaty of peace, but quickly lost their advantage when George I came to the throne, and his reign marked the beginning of a long period of Whig domination.

**Power of  
Parties**

The English government then was in the hands of a king whose power, in the course of events, had been largely transferred to a prime minister, although all business was still transacted in the king's name; a cabinet, drawn from the same party as the prime minister and largely subject to his control and leadership; and a parliament consisting of two houses but dominated largely by the lower house, in which a constant struggle was being waged between Whigs and Tories. Neither the cabinet nor prime minister were recognized by law. This very important part of the governmental machinery developed as the result of the needs and circumstances of the hour and never received the official sanction of parliament. Then, as now, the king ruled

**Relation of  
Cabinet to King**

but did not govern. The sovereign was expected to sign every bill which had received the approval of the ministry and both houses of parliament. Parliament, as has been already shown, was not a truly representative body, but was the instrument for furthering the interests of the country gentry, or the well-to-do trading classes of the towns. In the course of time the king simply selected the leader of the party in power in the House of Commons as prime minister, and he in turn selected the members of his cabinet. To each of these was usually intrusted an important department of government, e.g., foreign affairs, finance, the army, navy.

No less important than these political changes, which created a government more liberal than any on the continent, was the long struggle with Louis XIV, which began back in the reign of Charles II and closed in 1713. This forms a part of the struggle for commercial supremacy between the great states of Europe and will be described in detail in that connection.<sup>1</sup> By it England won an enviable place among the nations of Europe. She clearly demonstrated her superiority over the French upon the sea and thereby placed herself well in the lead commercially. She also did much to safeguard the independence of the smaller states of Europe and to prevent the building up of a great French empire out of their territories and Spain's vast possessions.

**5. The Establishment of the Power of the Monarch in France.** — Throughout the latter part of the 17th century it was France who had been acknowledged as leader among the great states of Europe. In almost every particular she presented a marked contrast to her neighbor across the Channel. Henry IV, Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV had labored to exalt the monarch rather than the people to the highest place in the government and had succeeded so well that the French monarch could boast with much of truth, "I am the state." The reign of Louis XIV marked the most brilliant period in French his-

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter III.

Power of  
Parliament

Struggle with  
Louis XIV

Influence of  
France



LOUIS XIV

tory. Not only was France feared by her neighbors, but her achievements in art and in literature, and likewise her institutions, were widely imitated. The king was not only the centre and source of all authority, but he was also the generous patron of artists and writers. The luxury and splendor which he encouraged made France the home of beautiful tapestries, fine furniture, and stately architecture. The ruler was fond of lik-



THE GALLERY OF BATTLES AT VERSAILLES

The Palace at Versailles was the royal residence of Louis XIV and his two successors, and now is a great national museum. The most imposing room in this wonderful structure is the Gallery of Battles. The floor, inlaid with woods of various colors, is beautifully polished. The roof is of glass and costly gilding sustained by marble columns in front of each of which, on handsome pedestals, are portrait busts of noted generals of France. The glory of the hall is its collection of historical paintings representing the battle-fields of France, especially the many victories of Napoleon.

ening himself to the rising sun with the whole world basking in his beneficent rays. Louis XIV placed the capstone upon the French governmental system, finally concentrating in his own person every function of government that really counted,—legislative, executive, and judicial. No detail of government was too trifling for his personal attention; everything must come



#### EXAMPLES OF BOURBON MAGNIFICENCE

These palace interiors with their luxurious furnishings belong to the period of Louis XIV and Louis XV. The furniture has been named for these monarchs.

under the king's eye; every important document must bear his signature.

#### The Court

The court of Louis XIV was the most brilliant in all Europe. After building for himself a splendid palace at Versailles, he attracted thither all the great nobles of the realm, making it a prime requisite for political advancement that they should grace his court by their presence. When on one occasion a nobleman was recommended to him for an appointment, he made answer, "I have not seen him at my court." Court functions of one sort or another took up the time of nobles who otherwise might have been plotting against the government on their estates or have formed the centre of various disaffected groups of subjects. The king elevated the most trivial service rendered to his person into the most important of state ceremonials, and there was great rivalry among his courtiers to perform the most menial services, such as to be present when he arose or retired, holding perhaps some one of his garments. To amuse this court King Louis encouraged the writing of some of the finest French plays. Versailles furnished one continuous round of pleasure and gayety for its inhabitants. The best of French art was lavished upon its decorations; its glories were heralded abroad; and it soon became the ambition of the petty princelings of Europe to imitate its splendor and magnificence.

#### The Church

It was not only the political system which was completely under the thumb of the king. The same held true of the church. There was no thought of toleration in France. On the contrary, the king became more intolerant with the passage of time, and in 1685, after a series of persecutions known as the dragonnades, he wiped from the statute books of his realm the last vestige of the Edict of Nantes, with its guarantees to the Huguenots of the right to worship as they pleased. The king's one thought seems to have been to leave France a unit as to its religion as he had labored to make it a unit as to its government. This was a decided step backward in every particular. Its immediate result was to lose to France many of her best

#### Revocation of the Edict of Nantes



LOUIS XIV AT THE GOBELIN PLANT

The Gobelines, a family of dyers, established themselves in Paris in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century they began the manufacture of tapestries. In 1662 this establishment was purchased by Colbert and reorganized as a royal manufactory of upholstery. In this picture Louis XIV is represented as paying a visit to his Gobelin plant. He is the commanding figure at the left.



citizens. Some fled to America; others were welcomed in England, in Holland, and in parts of Germany.

**Class  
Distinctions**

**The Nobles**

By this time a great gulf had become fixed between the classes in France. Three main divisions are readily distinguished, the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate. The nobles owed their position either to birth (the *noblesse de l'épée*) or service (the *noblesse de la robe*). Although there were some members of the hereditary nobility who were in close touch with the people, the great lords, who held the highest positions in the government, were far removed from all contact with the people at large on account of the life which they led at Versailles. They were not even in touch with the occupants of their great estates, as they seldom visited these and left their management in the hands of overseers. Many of the nobility lived on the incomes derived from pensions granted them by the king and were an economic burden upon society. A great barrier separated the nobility from the third estate. This class took its name from the fact that it was represented in one of the three houses (or estates) of the French Estates General, which corresponded roughly to the English parliament. This body, however, had seldom come together; its last session was in 1614. The third estate, or bourgeoisie, as it was sometimes called, was composed of well-to-do business men, bankers, lawyers, doctors and the like, many of whom filled the subordinate administrative positions in the government, which were very numerous on account of its bureaucratic nature. The name third estate was also applied to all who were not members of the nobility or clergy and it therefore included the peasants, who constituted nearly nine tenths of the entire population and had no representation in the Estates General. The majority of these were without political rights and possessed of no civil standing. Then, too, there were the artisans and workers, — about a tenth of the population. Some of the latter were to be found among the slum dwellers of Paris and the great cities and their lot was wretched beyond description.

Although the clergy formed the first estate in the Estates

**The  
Third Estate**

General, their position is best understood by considering their relation to the nobility and the common people. They were composed of the higher and lower clergy. The higher clergy were recruited from the younger sons of noble families, who were given high positions in the church which carried with them large revenues. The actual duties were in many cases performed by the lower clergy, who were recruited from the common people. These were the *curés* or parish priests, who eked out a precarious living upon their meagre salaries. The higher clergy in many cases frequented the court to the neglect of the spiritual and material welfare of those committed to their charge.

The Clergy

France owed her commanding position in Europe in part to the perfection of her army. The French armies of the time of Louis XIV were the finest in Europe and were commanded by a group of brilliant generals. Louvois and Vauban, the one a war minister, the other a great engineer and student of defence, helped to make France the great military power of the time, and their work was widely copied.

The Army

Louvois  
and Vauban

The art and literature of Europe were long dominated by French ideals. The age of Louis XIV gave birth to such writers as Molière, the famous writer of comedy; Racine, the great writer of tragedy; Boileau, the critic; La Fontaine, the Aesop of his day; the brilliant letter writer, Madame de Sévigné; and many others whose works became models for the rest of Europe. French art, with representatives like Claude Lorrain, the landscape artist; Le Brun, the well-known decorator of the palace of Versailles; and Mansard, whose name has been attached to a peculiar type of roof, also exercised its magic power over Europe. "In literature," says Macaulay, "France gave laws to the entire world." This sort of supremacy to some extent compensated her for a gradual loss of her political power, for with the death of Louis XIV France passed into a period far less glorious and marked by many more failures than had been true of the age of *Le Grand Monarque*. Louis himself had failed largely because of England's opposition. Although still counted a

Literature

Art

power of the first rank France politically was gradually giving way to England and to other powers on the continent.

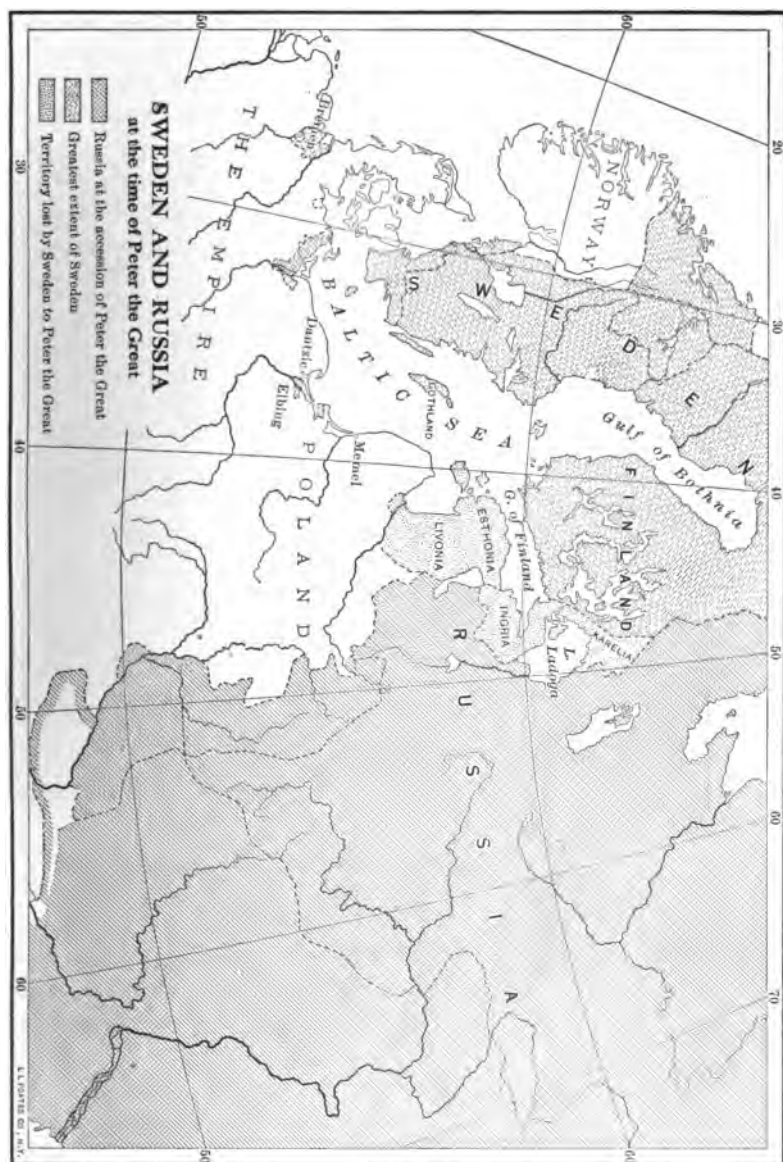
**6. Rise of Russia and Decay of Sweden.**—The age which had witnessed the glories of the personal rule of Louis XIV saw



PETER THE GREAT STUDYING SHIP-BUILDING

In 1697 Peter the Great visited the countries of western Europe to study their institutions. Here he is seen examining the model of a ship. After studying ship-building he returned to Russia and created a fleet.

**Peter the Great** the gradual rise of two new states in eastern Europe, Russia and Prussia. Russia was largely the creation of Peter the Great, who, yielding to the spell of western methods of government and western habits of thinking, tried to transform his Oriental country into an Occidental. It was a gigantic task which he undertook, but he at least succeeded in one thing, and



that was in making Russia from this time forward a factor to be reckoned with in any movement on the continent of Europe. In his young manhood, partly as the result of travel, Peter came in contact with natives of Germany, Holland, and England and



Moscow

A view of modern Moscow from the Temple of Our Saviour.

so was not influenced to any great extent by French ideals, but the tremendous influence which France continued to exercise after the death of Louis XIV was felt in Russia in the reigns of his immediate successors and is another proof of the greatness of the period of Louis XIV. At the accession of Peter the Great (1682) Russia was the most backward of countries, resembling in much of its life, customs, and organization, the

Chinese Empire at the close of the last century. Peter was a believer in the absolutist idea of government, and in order to build up a powerful monarchy he found it necessary to restrict the power of the nobles, as had been done in France in the days of Richelieu and Mazarin. No detail of life was too trivial for the watchful eye of the Tsar, as the ruler of Russia was called; and we find him even prescribing the cut of the clothes of his people and forbidding the wearing of beards, in order that they might in outward appearance at least resemble their western neighbors. The tremendous energy which marked everything which he undertook is illustrated in the building of St. Petersburg, or Petrograd, as it is now called. He was desirous of building himself a new capital and selected as a site the marshy district lying along the Neva River. It was an almost superhuman task to erect the beautiful city which commemorates his name. His success is attested by its broad streets and fine monuments. In the building of it he hoped to realize the more quickly his dominant ambition of westernizing his people by cutting them off from those associations which suggested their barbarous past, for Moscow had long been the capital of the empire. Peter also set himself to the task of reorganizing the Russian army on western lines and creating a navy. This latter effort was beset with great difficulties, as the Russians had a dread of the water and Russia had no port which was free from ice for any great part of the year.

Founding of  
Petrograd

The Army  
and Navy

Peter the Great reasoned that to make Russia a western nation his country must have an outlet toward the west upon the Baltic, by which she would be in direct contact with civilized Europe. In his efforts to effect this result, which he regarded as one of the most important in connection with his westernizing policies, he had a great rival to overcome in the person of the ruler of Sweden, Charles XII, whose one ambition seems to have been to rival the military exploits of Alexander the Great. A desperate struggle ensued between the two, in which, though beaten at the outset, the persistence of the Tsar

Charles XII  
of Sweden

**Acquisitions  
of Russia**

finally triumphed, and he was ceded a large area, including the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, all bordering upon the Baltic. From this time forward Sweden steadily lost ground and ceased to exercise any real influence upon her neighbors. It was also a part of the plan of Peter the Great to secure for Russia her present water front upon the Black Sea, but he was unable to make much headway against the Turks, who blocked his path.

**Russia  
and Europe**

Peter the Great turned over to his successors a state of the absolutist type, strong enough and enterprising enough from thenceforth to play an important part in the solution of all questions of moment which might arise in the west. Russia had already cast an envious eye upon Poland, blocking as it did the most direct route into the heart of western Europe. Poland was not only weak in its organization, but was torn asunder by internal strife.

**Brandenburg**

**7. Rise of Prussia.**—The other eastern state now and henceforth to be reckoned with was Prussia. This state was gradually beaten into shape by the efforts of the ancestors of the dynasty which rules modern Germany. One of the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, the Elector of Brandenburg, had been ceded the territory known as Prussia (1618), and in 1701, for certain services rendered the Emperor, had been permitted to assume the title of King in Prussia. The first of these kings was Frederick I, who imitated Louis XIV in maintaining a luxurious court. His successor, Frederick William, however, practised the most rigid economy and accumulated a considerable treasure for those days. This he left to his son at his death in 1740, along with a well-equipped army, which had been his chief joy and pride. He had earned the title of the Drill Sergeant of Europe and delighted in tall, soldierly-looking recruits for his army. As the army was composed of volunteers, recruiting was not confined to Prussia alone. He is said to have scoured Europe in order to fill the ranks of his regiment of giants with creditable material. The army became the mainstay of the Prus-

**The Army**

sian government, the rulers trusting through it to make an impression upon their neighbors and to satisfy their ambitions for a larger and more powerful kingdom. Obligatory military service was introduced in 1733, and all recruits were subjected to a rigid discipline. The Prussian system of training demanded that each man move with machine-like precision as part of a great organization. "The soldiers were taught to load their guns in twelve movements. When a battalion fired, one ought to see but one flash and hear but one report." As the officers were drawn from the ranks of the nobility, there was but little chance of promotion for the common soldier. The officers, however, were likewise subjected to thorough drill and discipline, and the Prussian army became in time the model for many of its neighbors.

The Prussian government furnished a good illustration of an administrative system of the absolutist type. Like Peter the Great, Frederick William claimed the right to regulate everything. The ruler, however, did not permit the whole burden of government to be borne by the peasant, but subjected the nobility of the land as well to the burden of taxation. The interest of the governed was uppermost in the mind of the ruler, but the measures enacted by the royal despot must at times have appeared harsh and unjust.

**Absolutism  
of the  
Government**

**8. The Passing of Holland.**—On the western fringe of continental Europe lay a small state which in the preceding century and a half had occasioned no little stir in the world at large. This collection of provinces was known as the Protestant Netherlands, or Holland, and its independence had been tardily recognized when the Treaties of Westphalia were signed in 1648. Long before this time it had begun to send out its explorers and traders. Following in the track of the Portuguese, the Dutch had laid hands upon many of the eastern possessions of Portugal, as the grasp of the mother country grew weaker and weaker. The colonial empire which Dutch enterprise created extended at one time from New Netherlands and Brazil in the

**Dutch Trading  
Operations**



The Navigation  
Acts

Western hemisphere to the shores of India, the Malay peninsula, and the East Indies in the far East. The hold of Holland weakened in turn, and by the middle of the eighteenth century her influence among the states of Europe had practically ceased; at the same time she had lost much of her trade and territory. This was in part the result of hostile English legislation by which her rivals across the Channel strove with Navigation Acts and the like to wrest from the Dutch the coveted trade and territory. When legislation did not succeed they resorted to force, eventually destroying the Dutch power on the sea, notably in the reign of Charles II, when New Netherlands was captured (1664).

Designs of  
Louis XIV  
upon Spain

9. **The Decay and Attempted Revival of Spain.**—Spain, which had once been the terror of England and the Protestant west, had long ceased to trouble Europe, and throughout the seventeenth century had been blundering along, trying half-heartedly to retrieve the mistakes of her past. In the period of Louis XIV, Spain's territorial possessions had been at the same time the goal and stumbling block of the ambitions of *Le Grand Monarque*. Jealousy and fear on the part of his neighbors, however, robbed him of much of the spoil which he counted as rightfully his. Philip V, a member of the House of Bourbon and a grandson of Louis XIV, was placed upon the Spanish throne as the result of the War of the Spanish Succession, and in any European difficulty from this time forward it was to be expected that Spain would be found on the side of France (sec. 32).

Cardinal  
Alberoni

With the coming into power of Cardinal Alberoni (1713-1719), Spain was once more thrust into prominence, and it looked for the moment as though she might shape somewhat the destinies of Europe, particularly those of Italy. Alberoni was an Italian by birth who had attained his position of eminence by practising in turn the arts of actor, jester, and chef, and had finally brought about the marriage of the king of Spain to an Italian princess. His ambition was to restore to Spain some of her former power and greatness and to drive Austria from

Italy. Although somewhat successful in lifting his adopted country from her sloth, corruption, and superstition, his carefully laid plans came to naught. Thus, although Spain seemed to be "coming back" to take a prominent place among her neighbors, it soon became apparent that this position was not to be maintained.

**10. The Great States about 1740.**—In the middle of the eighteenth century, then, the immediate future of Europe seemed to lie in the hands of England, France, Russia, and Prussia. The Holy Roman Empire as a political organization counted for comparatively little in the great movements of the eighteenth century. This could not be said of Austria, whose rulers had so long borne the empty title of Emperor. The activities of such aggressive sovereigns as Maria Theresa and Joseph II have much to do with European progress. Each of the four great powers, however, had its peculiar weakness. In England it was the temporary dearth of far-sighted men to secure and maintain for her the position which she had won by her long struggle with Louis XIV. French civilization, rather than the French rulers, gave France her prestige. Finally, Prussia and Russia had much to do before they could claim the rank and place of great European powers.

**The Great Powers and their Influence**

**11. The Reform Movement.**—A series of changes now began to manifest themselves which heralded the dawn of a new era. This reform movement, as it might be called, started with a change along intellectual lines. No great change in government, no great shifting of power from one great state to another, but has had its origin in the mind of an individual or a group of individuals.

The influence of ideas upon the current of a country's history is illustrated in Shakespeare, where he makes Caesar say of Cassius, "He thinks too much: such men are dangerous" (Julius Caesar, Act I, Sc. 2). It was the thinking class whom the great Roman had feared in his plans to control the Roman world. Europe now began to look at some things differently

**Nature of the Movement**

— to see them in a new light. The rulers and people of Europe in the century just passed had entertained peculiar ideas of government and religion, ideas quite foreign to those of the masses today. Even their ideas of how trade and commerce should be carried on were very crude from the standpoint of our methods of conducting business. These were now beginning to change and become more like those of today. The educated, thinking classes — the literary men — were responsible for these changes. As France had been a centre of intellectual activity (sec. 5) in the age of Louis XIV, it is natural to look for the origin of the movement there. The real source of these new ideas, however, was not in France but in England, as England had in certain lines, notably in religion and in government, advanced much farther than the other states of Europe. We find Englishmen beginning to describe their peculiar form of government and to express their ideas about government, especially as to the rights of individuals and the meaning of liberty. Their experiences in trade and commerce, too, led them to conceive new ideas as to the meaning of trade and commerce to a nation and to form new plans for advancing these. Intolerance in religion and absolutism in government characterized almost every other state in Europe. The reign of Louis XIV illustrates these conditions and shows how firmly rooted were these ideas.

The Old Ideas

Origin of the  
New Ideas

John Locke

**12. The Philosophers and Economists.**—The men who first gave vigorous expression to these new ideas were known as philosophers and economists. Of the rise of the new science of economics, or political economy, something will be said later. In England, as has been pointed out, the idea of divine right and religious intolerance had already been dealt a severe blow in the Great Civil War and in the Revolution of 1688. John Locke now appeared (1632–1704) to justify these changes in his *Letters on Tolerance* and particularly in his writings on government. He maintained that the government “has been formed through a contract between the citizens constituting the

nation; they have made a covenant with each other for their common good advantage." There was no place in a government like this for an absolute monarch. On the other hand, there was the possibility of enjoying a maximum amount of personal liberty. Under the successors of Louis XIV these ideas found their way into France and began to be taken up and discussed by the intellectual classes there, who were growing weary of the inefficiency and intolerance which cursed their own land. Voltaire (1694-1778) and Montesquieu (1689-1755), two of the greatest writers of this time, visited England and resided there for a time. The former, in his *Letters on the English* and in his *Philosophical Dictionary*, attacked the abuses of his time and stirred the thinking class mightily by his criticisms. He made the church with its emphasis upon form and ceremony, its persecutions and inquisitions, the special object of his attacks. Montesquieu was a great admirer of the English system of government and, in his *Spirit of the Laws*, gave his countrymen a fairly accurate description of the English system. These two great pioneers were followed in the next generation by a group of brilliant pamphleteers, novelists, and essayists, who criticised right and left and demanded the reform of existing evils. Rousseau (1712-1778) was one of the most influential of these, embodying in story form his idea that government should be so constituted as to afford the widest possible liberty of action to the individual. This was the novel *Émile*. Diderot (1713-1784) conceived the idea of a Dictionary, or Encyclopaedia, which should embody the sum total of human knowledge, and with the help of a brilliant group of writers produced a series of volumes filled with cutting criticisms and suggested reforms.

**13. Their Influence: The Age of Enlightened Despotism.** — The brilliant, interesting style of these writers, and the various forms in which they put forth their ideas, in satires, romances, letters, etc., gave them a wide hearing, not only in France but throughout those parts of Europe in which France had come to

The Enlight-  
ened Despot

be so much admired and imitated. Certain of these ideas commended themselves to some of the rulers and statesmen of the time, who sought to put them into practice. This effort gave rise to the so-called Age of Enlightened Despotism. At first sight it would seem, curiously enough from our modern point of view, that in many cases the most despotic rulers were among those who most eagerly accepted these new ideas. Although they regarded themselves as absolute masters in their respective countries, they came to take a higher and more exalted view of their position as rulers. This did not mean that they had any higher ideals of serving their fellow men. They saw rather an opportunity of breaking some of the fetters which the church had imposed upon them, or again a chance to improve upon their administrative machinery. The state was all in all to them; their subjects were merely pawns on a chessboard to be moved about at will. They were first servants of the state, owing a duty to govern it along lines which made for its greater strength and efficiency. They brooked no opposition to their plans and seldom if ever took their subjects into their confidence. They treated them rather as children who did not know what was for their best interest. In many states, where the monarch himself was not gripped by this new conception of government, great ministers were to be found who accepted these ideas and were guided by them. There existed in almost every state on the continent survivals of feudalism, cumbrous and inefficient systems of law, crude methods of administering justice, inadequate school facilities, various restrictions upon the writing and printing of books and newspapers; in short, innumerable outworn devices for curbing the liberty and development of mankind upon the political, intellectual, moral, and even economic side, which blocked all true progress.

Abuses of  
the Time

The activities of a single ruler will illustrate the work attempted in this period, beginning with about 1740. The experiences of Joseph II, ruler of Austria (1765-1790), might be

taken as typical of those of his fellow-workers, and the list of reforming rulers and ministers would include Frederick the Great of Prussia, Catherine II of Russia, and less known but interesting exponents of these ideas in Spain, Denmark, Portugal, and in the small states of Italy. Frederick the Great once said

of Joseph II, "He always took the second step before he had taken the first." Some authorities maintain that he sincerely loved his people, but he rushed into one project after the other for their improvement without allowing time for his subjects to recover from the bewilderment and consternation with which they beheld the disappearance of many of their cherished ideals and customs. He suppressed those religious orders which he considered a burden upon his people; reformed the

educational system, taking from the church its monopoly of education; abolished the death penalty, save for offences against the state; abolished serfdom in many of his provinces; and sought to unify his great empire as to taxation and administration. Much of his work, however, died with him. He made the great mistake of trying "to hustle" his people, such as that against which Kipling later warned his own countrymen in their plans for India.

Not only were serfdom and slavery abolished, as in Denmark and Portugal; the laws codified, as in Prussia and in Russia; universities founded, cities erected, freedom of the press encouraged, road-making and harbor improvement undertaken, but these reforming rulers and administrators labored zealously to curtail the power of the church by depriving the Jesuits of



CATHERINE THE GREAT

Joseph II of  
Austria and his  
Reforms

## 28 ESSENTIALS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Catherine II

many of their powers and privileges and by dealing a final blow at the nefarious system of the Inquisition. Catherine II and Frederick II prided themselves on the friendship of the leading French advocates of these reforms and maintained a voluminous correspondence with the learned men of the time. In 1771 Catherine II sent the German philosopher Grimm the following report of her accomplishments:

Governments set up according to the new form . . . . .	29
Towns established and built . . . . .	144
Conventions and treaties concluded . . . . .	30
Victories won . . . . .	78
Memorable edicts bearing upon law or establishment. . .	88
Edicts for the relief of the people . . . . .	123

Total . . . . .492<sup>1</sup>

The  
Bureaucracy

A Preparation  
for Modern Life

Two important results of this manifold activity are to be noted. Much of the work done was premature and did not endure. The rulers who became the centre and source of these undertakings were of necessity forced to organize their governments on the bureaucratic model, that is, to employ men to carry out their undertakings. These in turn, because of the amount of detail involved by their tasks, had to maintain a host of clerks and build up a complicated machine loaded down with a vast amount of red tape. By their efforts, however, these reforming rulers prepared the way for the final great change from mediaeval conditions of living to our modern ways of doing things. In fact Europe stood upon the threshold of modern development, as will be more clearly seen when we examine the great economic changes which began to sweep these countries.

### SUGGESTIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Comment upon the description of the Holy Roman Empire, that it was neither "Holy, Roman, nor an Empire."
2. Give the terms of the Declaration of Breda.
3. Explain the origin of the terms "petitioners" and "abhorers."
4. Describe what was done to strengthen the French

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Seignobos, *Contemporary Civilization*, p. 82.

monarchy by Henry IV, Richelieu, and Mazarin. 5. What were the "dragonnades?" 6. Under what circumstances had previous meetings of the Estates General been held? 7. Give a brief characterizing statement of the work of the artists and authors mentioned in this section. 8. Describe Peter the Great's visit to Western European countries, and estimate its effects on his later career. 9. Review the history of the rise of the Dutch Republic. 10. Describe the loss of New Netherlands by Holland. 11. Give brief character sketches of Locke, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau. 12. Give instances of the policy of Frederick the Great and Catherine the Great as benevolent despots. 13. How did these rulers prepare the way for the final change from mediaeval to modern conditions? 14. Discuss the beginnings of reform in the punishment of crime.

## COLLATERAL READING

## I. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND.

1. The state of England in 1685. (Macaulay) Tuell and Hatch, Readings in English History, pp. 286-309.
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## 30 ESSENTIALS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

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### SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

1. On an outline map show the growth of the Russian Empire in Europe.
2. Of the kingdom of Prussia to the death of Frederick the Great.
3. On an outline map of Italy show the transfers of territory in 1713, 1720, 1738.

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## CHAPTER II

### INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CONDITIONS IN EUROPE IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

**14. The Guild System.** — In order to understand the condition of industry in Europe in the early eighteenth century, before the changes referred to in the preceding chapter, it is necessary to review the part taken by the guilds in manufacturing. The oldest form of the guild was the guild merchant, formed by those engaged in trade. The members of these guilds enjoyed certain privileges, such as exemption from some forms of taxation and the sole right to deal in particular articles, and they usually controlled the town government. When organized for political purposes, the prominent merchants formed what is called a commune and were able to demand a town charter from the lord on whose land the town was situated. Thus many rights of self-government were won for the towns by these men, who had banded themselves together primarily in the interests of their business.

In later mediaeval times the guild merchant declined in power, and the artisans in particular trades organized similar associations known as craft guilds. These resembled our trade unions in that they were formed to promote particular industries by fixing prices and maintaining standards of excellence in workmanship; but they differed widely from the unions in that they contained both employers and employees. The guild had as its rule that a craftsman should labor just as earnestly for the good repute of his craft as for his own advancement. Typical guilds were those of the weavers, dyers, furriers, masons, and goldsmiths.

The Guild  
Merchant

The Craft Guild

The Craft  
Guild vs. the  
Trade Union

The chief functions of the craft guild were to protect the trade, to standardize production, to prevent fraud, and to create a monopoly, that is, to regulate the price of the articles manufactured by the guild. For example, none but members of the goldsmiths' guild were allowed to work in metal in a town, and definite rules for the manufacture of golden chains, rings, etc., insured the production of articles of standard fineness and workmanship. Severe penalties awaited the dishonest manufacturer. The craft was protected from untrained workers by rules governing the length of apprenticeship before admittance into the privileges of the guild. There were three grades of workmen: the apprentice, the journeyman, and the master workman. After an apprenticeship of from three to ten years, the workman entered the grade of journeyman. He was then sent forth from his own shop to visit those of other master workmen to study their methods and designs. After a suitable preparation, if the masters of his craft were convinced of his fitness, he might set up a shop of his own and employ other apprentices and journeymen. He then became a master workman.

**Purposes and  
Organization of  
the Guild**

**Grades of  
Workmen**

The rule governing the length of service necessary before admittance into all the rights of the guild tended to make well-trained and careful workmen, but at the same time it doubtless discouraged many from attempting to improve their condition. The rule requiring a standardization of manufacturing raised the general quality above what it would have been without the rule, yet it discouraged improvements in methods of work or in form of design. An important influence was exerted by the guilds over the behavior of their members, and thus the guilds were a factor for nobler living. The guilds also provided against sickness and looked after the widows and orphans of deceased craftsmen. Perhaps the greatest service rendered by the guilds was the added strength given the cause of town liberty by these groups of men who had learned to work together in a common cause.

**Advantages and  
Disadvantages  
of the Guild  
System**

**15. Government Interference with and Regulation of Industry.**—In addition to the control exercised by the craft guild, industry for some centuries past had been subjected to strict government control and regulation. This is best illustrated in France and England, for with the close of the Middle Ages these nations began to concern themselves with industrial conditions. As early as 1351 England had its Statute of Laborers, fixing wages where they had been before the Black Death. This law was followed by others of a similar nature and from 1389 to 1811 "wages were alternately fixed by acts of parliament and summary decisions of justices."<sup>1</sup>

Control  
of Wages

Debasing  
the Currency

A governmental practice which seriously interfered with industry and trade was that of debasing the currency. This upset all business and made it difficult for employer and employee to adjust themselves to the changing conditions. This practice, however, gradually died out in England with the opening of the seventeenth century, but on the continent it continued even into the eighteenth century. In France the practice was abolished in 1726 during the ministry of Cardinal Fleury.

Confiscation of  
Guild Property

As time passed the craft guild became the object of government attack. This began during the Reformation period, under the Tudors in England. The guilds at this time owned considerable property, some of which had been left them by former members, on condition that they would always maintain a priest whose duty it should be to conduct religious services for the benefit of the soul of the one who had made the gift. Now these guild lands came under the condemnation of the reforming ministers of the Tudors and were confiscated to the crown. Deprived of their extensive real estate and stripped of their religious character, the guilds struggled on with constantly decreasing strength and effectiveness. Industry was not only handicapped by legislation of this character, but by the grant of special privileges or monopolies. During the same

Monopolies

<sup>1</sup> See Bland, *English Economic History: Select Documents*, pp. 313-362, 543-616.

period in England, an important economic revolution was all but completed whereby England changed from a wool-exporting to a wool-manufacturing country. No longer shipping her wool to the Flemish towns, she manufactured it at home. Particular towns made great efforts to secure the sole right to make certain kinds of commodities. The English rulers, for a compensation, granted such monopolies to certain towns, as Worcester and York, and this practice tended naturally to retard the growth of manufactures elsewhere in England.

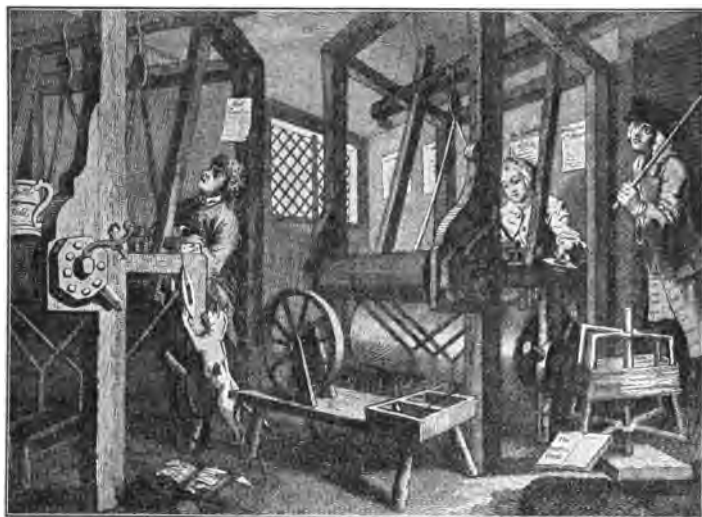
**16. Changes in the Guild System.**—At the same time marked changes appeared in the conditions of manufacturing. The old-time guild structure took on new forms; industries formerly peculiar to certain towns spread out into country districts, while at the same time these towns lost their pre-eminence in trade. Instead of a definite progress from apprenticeship to master craftsman, many artisans continued permanently to occupy subordinate positions in the craft with no hope of advancement. This was due in part to the selfish policy of the masters in the craft, who were unwilling to grant to their employees that share in the profits of production to which admission into all the privileges of the craft would entitle them. Then, too, as time passed some such measures seemed necessary to limit competition. Another cause was the lack of sufficient capital or ambition on the part of the employees. Guilds within guilds now appeared, such as "yeomen" or "journeymen guilds," which lacked the general control over the trade possessed by the older guilds, but yet were able to control the rates of wages and conditions of labor to some extent. The wealthier masters donned suits of livery to distinguish themselves from less fortunate employers, and thus a class distinction arose within the ranks of the master workmen. The members of the "Livery Companies" ceremonially greeted important personages on their entry into the town, and gave a touch of dignified lustre to great functions. Nor did all the members in livery control the affairs of the guild; these came to

Changes in  
Organization

The Livery  
Companies

be administered by a Court of Assistants, consisting of a small group of wardens and other officials, who were at first elected at large from the members of the guild. After a time, however, vacancies in this board of control were filled by the Court of Assistants, and thus the guilds came to be dominated by a small, self-perpetuating group, whose policy was aristocratic and narrow.

**17. The Domestic System and the Germination of the Modern Factory.**—The rigorous laws against engaging in manufacturing in a town without permission of the guild of that particular craft brought forth a new form of organization of industry which is known as the “domestic system.” A good example of this is found in the manufacture of clothing. A group of merchants appeared, known as “clothiers or merchant clothiers.” Possessing a certain amount of capital, they purchased the raw material and distributed it among spinners, weavers, and other craftsmen, paying them for the services which they rendered in connection with the various processes of cloth making. They also supplied in some cases the looms. The finished product was disposed of by the clothiers, who thus were a new kind of employers, hiring master workmen to work for them for a wage, much as a general contractor today distributes by sub-contract the various portions of his contracts. There were also spinners and weavers who owned their own looms and supplied their own wool, disposing of the finished product in the larger towns at periodical fairs or markets. This system of manufacturing threatened the control over each industry exercised by the guilds, so it was forced by their opposition to spread out into the rural regions where the guilds had no authority. The workmen engaged in this system of manufacture no longer lived in the towns, but in small villages near enough to the larger towns to enable them to keep in touch with the merchant clothier or to take their wares to the market or fair in these towns. The “manufacturer” was, literally, the man who worked with his own hands in his own



INDUSTRY BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Hogarth, the engraver, in these two pictures depicts the interior of a manufacturing plant before the industrial revolution.



Defoe's  
Description

cottage. Whether he happened to be a merchant clothier or simply an employee, he was entirely independent of the restrictions on trade imposed by the guilds. There was scarcely a worker who did not have land of his own from which he derived a part of his living, and in many cases he was possessed of both land and capital. Defoe, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, writing in 1725, gives us this description of the domestic system. The land near Halifax was "divided into small enclosures from two to six or seven acres each, seldom more, every three or four pieces of land had an house belonging to them, . . . hardly an house standing out of a speaking distance from another. . . . We could see at every house a tenter<sup>1</sup> and on almost every tenter a piece of cloth. . . . Every clothier keeps one horse, at least, to carry his manufactures to the market; and every one, generally, keeps a cow or two or more for his family. . . . The houses are full of lusty fellows, some at the dye-vat, some at the looms, others dressing the cloths; the women and children carding or spinning, being all employed from the youngest to the oldest. . . . Not a beggar to be seen nor an idle person."

Early  
Capitalists

The striking characteristic of the domestic system which distinguished it from the guild system was that in the course of time the raw material was no longer owned by the workmen, but by the employer, who assumed all the risks of manufacture and whose profits were measured by his business ability. The employer was no longer the master craftsman, concerned equally with his apprentices in the small details of their craft, but the far-sighted manufacturer, who weighed the home and foreign market and sold his wares wherever the greatest profits could be secured, as does the capitalist manufacturer of today.

**18. Domestic Trade: Its Nature and Importance.** — Trade, like industry, was still suffering from various handicaps which had been imposed upon it by government or custom. Each town provided a market-place for the sale of all commodities

<sup>1</sup> A machine or frame for stretching cloth.

brought within its walls. Duties were laid on manufactured articles brought into this market for sale, and additional fees were charged merchants for the privilege of exposing their wares in the town. These fees, called *octroi*, are collected to this day in some European cities, and in America peddlers and hucksters must pay a license tax to carry on their trade. Our corporation tax is probably the evolution of the same principle. Whenever there was a scarcity of the supply of any commodity, an embargo, or prohibition to export the commodity, was usually enforced by the town. Townsmen were forbidden to buy up larger amounts of goods than they needed; merchants were closely supervised; and their weights and measures were at all times subject to inspection. The size of a loaf of bread was fixed by law, and maximum prices were established for most of the necessities of life. Agriculture rather than trade was still the principal occupation. Foreign trade was in its infancy. The regulation of all business by government action was the accepted thing.

The Market

Restrictions  
on Trade

Trading operations were still further extended through the fairs, which dated back to the Middle Ages. These expanded markets, which collected together buyers and sellers from a widely extended area in easily accessible towns and at convenient times of the year, were still to be found at Stourbridge, near Cambridge, and Winchester in England. In some respects they were similar to the county and state fairs so familiar to Americans. Merchants gathered and exhibited their wares in temporary booths for a week or two, sometimes longer. The little town was surrounded by a palisade, and the entrance was watched to prevent unlicensed venders from entering. Then, as now, side-shows were very much in evidence, as were also actors and clowns, trained animals, and freaks, for the amusement of the people who came together. Aside from the actual trading done, the fairs exerted considerable social influence. They were broadening, too, in that they brought men from different countries together, and thus an exchange of ideas as

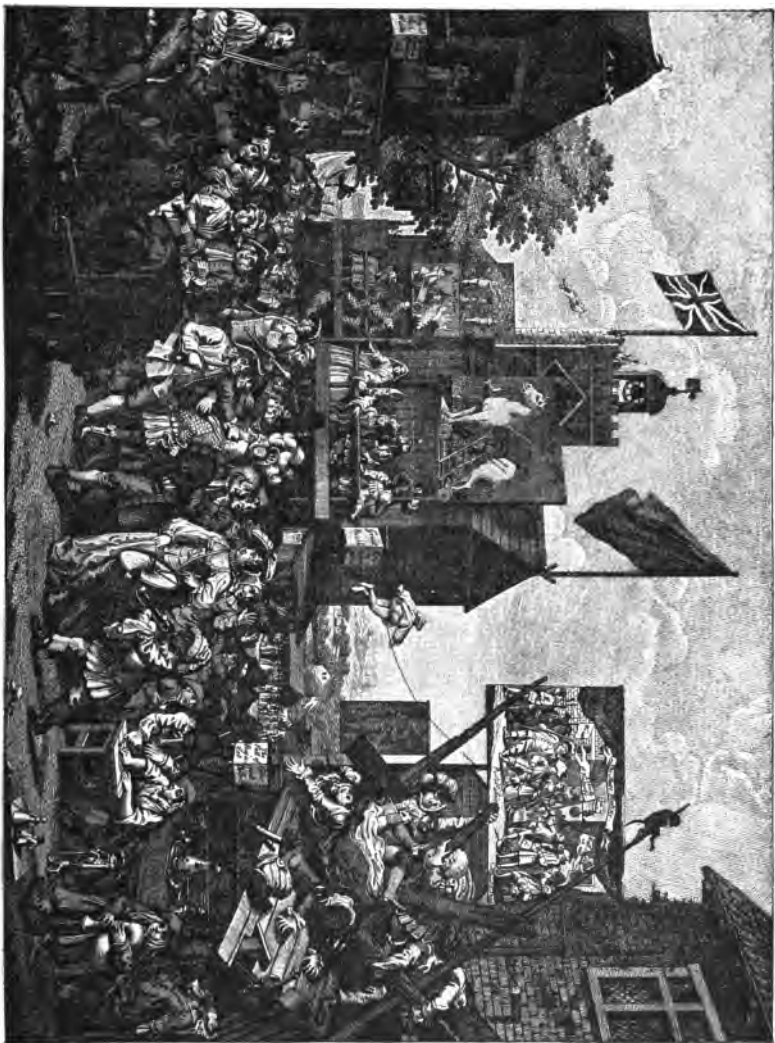
Fairs

Social Influence

well as of merchandise was possible. The fairs were often under the protection of a neighboring lord, who counted much upon the fees which he collected from the merchants, and for this reason granted them unusual privileges. Special courts were set up to administer *merchant law* in all disputes between traders. These were known as Courts of Pie-Powder, from the French *pied-poudreux*, meaning dusty-footed. These travelling merchants, or *dusty-foots*, as they were often called, could appear before these courts and seek immediate redress of injustice. Oliver Goldsmith, in his "Vicar of Wakefield," published in 1766, gives some interesting references to these fairs.

**19. Trade Routes and Transportation Facilities.** — The merchant who was interested in taking advantage of distant markets labored under many disadvantages and was put to many serious inconveniences in transporting his wares. There was first of all the problem presented by the roads and highways, which varied greatly in passability. Even though the old Roman high-roads, sixty-four feet wide, were still in use, they were too badly worn and too few to meet the needs of commerce. Such other roads as existed were maintained by the local authorities and ranged from bridle paths to wagon roads of eight and sixteen feet and highways of thirty-two feet in width; but these were in such bad repair that wagons were little used. Most goods were transported on the backs of pack-animals, a score of miles being a good day's journey. Many travellers lost their possessions and even their lives in dangerous pitfalls. The splendid bridges built by the Romans had fallen into ruin, and their places were taken by temporary and unsatisfactory wooden structures, by ferries, or by fords. It was cheaper to transport goods by boat on the many navigable rivers, even though the distance was twice as great as by a direct land route. Highway robberies were frequent; and heavy tolls were charged by the lords of the lands through which the merchant found it necessary to transport his wares. If a break-down occurred on land, or a wreck on water, the goods being transported were forfeited to

SOUTHWARK FAIR



the lord of the place where the accident happened. Perishable goods often spoiled in transit.

At sea the limit of voyages was set by the small size of the ships and their consequent inability to stand up under any but the most favorable conditions of wind and wave. Ships always sailed in fleets for better protection against pirates, and as it was necessary to wait for the formation of such fleets, goods were often much delayed in transit. There was always the temptation before the skippers of the larger merchant ships to turn buccaneer and seize the cargoes of smaller crafts. Nor was it considered entirely criminal, as privateering was the rule rather than the exception. From the days of the Vikings to the Freebooters of the Spanish Main, commerce by sea was crippled in every way.

**20. Banking Facilities.** — By the beginning of the eighteenth century a long step had been taken towards modern methods of carrying on business. This was to be seen in the use of credit and the part played by the banks. In the seventeenth century the goldsmiths were the principal bankers because of the security their strong boxes afforded the merchant with surplus capital. They paid their depositors six per cent interest and loaned the money to merchants or to the government at rates varying from eight to ten per cent. These goldsmith bankers were responsible for the custom of paying by check, and they also discounted notes. In 1694 a group of financiers received a charter from the English government to establish an institution known as the Bank of England. England was at that time looking about for a satisfactory method of financing her foreign wars, and these men agreed to lend her £1,200,000, on which the government promised to pay an annual interest of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. They were also permitted to carry on a general banking business with private concerns. The guaranteed income of £100,000 from the government enabled the Bank of England from the very beginning to lend large sums of money to industry. The bank also furnished an attractive

Piracy

The Goldsmiths

The Bank  
of England



THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE

Rich and poor, high and low, rub elbows in the street in front of the offices of the South Sea Company. The bubble has burst and all are anxious about their investments.

and secure investment for merchants with surplus capital. By the sale of bonds through the bank, it has been possible ever since this time for the bank to secure at any time funds for the British government. As the chief danger of banking is the attempt to secure a large line of credit on little capital, it was natural to expect that this would be attempted in the early days of banking, and so trade suffered from over-speculation and financial crises, or hard times.

**21. The Stock Exchange.** — Business had become so large by this time that places of exchange had become necessary, where those with capital to invest could purchase shares in great financial undertakings. In the larger cities of Europe stock exchanges were established for this purpose. Many wild and unstable schemes were brought forward. An English company was chartered in 1711 to carry on trade with the South Sea and the West Indies, and to loan money to the government. Its shares rose to almost fabulous values within a few months; then the South Sea Bubble burst. Investors realized that they had invested money which they never would get back; they began a hasty sale of their holdings, and the price of the stock dropped to almost nothing. Even the government was involved in this scandal. A similar project was put through in France by John Law, a Scotch "promoter" of the time. He organized The Mississippi Company, which sought to capitalize the vast wealth of Louisiana. So deluded were the French people that all classes beggared themselves to buy shares in this alluring business venture, and the government turned over the management of the national finances to Law. The inevitable day of reckoning came when this bubble burst also, and thousands of French people were made paupers.

**22. Rise and Development of the Trading Company.** — The chief distinguishing feature of the growing commerce which marks the opening years of the eighteenth century was that whereas earlier trade had been carried on by individual merchants, it was now in the hands of regulated and joint-stock

The South  
Sea Bubble

John Law and  
the Mississippi  
Bubble

companies. The earlier form of company was the regulated company, which was derived from the trading guild; and in it the merchant paid a definite license fee for engaging in the special trade for which the company was chartered. The money

**The Regulated  
Company**



THE RUSSIAN MARKET TOWN, NIJNI-NOVGOROD

A street in the fair at Nijni Novgorod. In the foreground are seen the picturesque equipages of Russia.

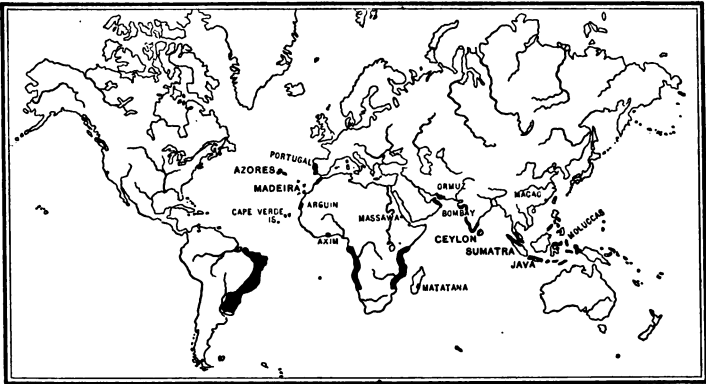
received from these fees was spent by the company in measures of protection for its merchants, such as the maintenance of consuls at foreign ports, who looked after the business interests of the company, and of forts and garrisons in regions of trade where such defences were necessary. Each merchant, however, engaged in business under this form of company at his own risk to a very large extent, for whatever losses he might sustain were in no wise losses to the company at large.

Quite different was the second form of trading company, the



**The Joint-Stock Company**

joint-stock company. Such an organization was chartered by the government and was under the control of parliament. Gains and losses were shared by all members of the company in proportion to the amount of stock held by them. Both forms of organization were bitterly hostile to interlopers, as independent competitors were known.



THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL EMPIRE ABOUT 1550

During the reign of Mary (1554) a company of merchants, known as the Muscovy Company, was formed to trade with the lands around Moscow, the old capital of Russia. They obtained a charter from the crown giving them the monopoly of trade in that region, and enjoyed the privileges of trade similar to those possessed by an earlier association known as the Merchant Adventurers, organized during the reign of Henry VII. Somewhat later other companies were formed to trade with the Levant, the Baltic, the Barbary or northern, and the Guinea or western, coast of Africa, all being of the first type of company mentioned above. At the close of Elizabeth's reign the English East India Company was chartered, which became the first of the joint-stock companies. At the start it was a very feeble organization with slender capital, but it contained the germ of the future British Empire in India. Other joint-stock com-

**The London East India Company**

panies were the English South Sea Company, the French Mississippi Company, and the Dutch West India Company (sec. 25).

**23. The Portuguese as Traders and Colonists.** — The race was now on between the different countries of Europe to secure the world's commerce. It had begun on a small scale in the days of Vasco da Gama and Columbus, but the passing centuries had witnessed more rivals in the field and the elbowing out of some of the first comers. During the latter half of the sixteenth century the Portuguese had possessed a commercial supremacy over the East Indies, the southern shores of Asia, and portions of China and Africa. This supremacy was of immense advantage, since all the spicery of the East at that time came to European trade-marts through Lisbon, the principal commercial city of Portugal. Other Portuguese engaged in the New-

foundland fisheries, and still others exploited the resources and began the colonization of Brazil. Trading privileges, however, were exercised under special royal licenses which were granted only to a favored few. Unfortunately for her trade, Portugal at the close of the sixteenth century, was united to the government of Spain, and the Spanish monarchs not only neglected these commercial holdings in the East, but also engaged in wars with other European powers, during the course of which most of the former Portuguese empire in the Far



The  
Portuguese  
Colonial  
Possessions

A PORTUGUESE SHIP OF THE 15TH  
CENTURY

In such ships as this the Portuguese navigators crept along the coast of Africa on their voyages of discovery.

East was conquered by the Dutch. When Portugal became independent again, in the middle of the seventeenth century, she was too poor and too weak to reconquer what she had lost in the East.

**24. The Spanish Colonial Empire: the Policy of the Spanish Rulers.**—The unification of the kingdoms of Castile and



A SPANISH GALLEON OF THE 16TH CENTURY

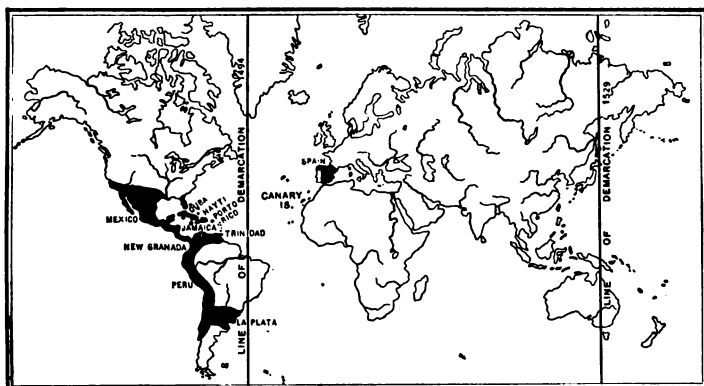
Aragon, by the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand, their rulers, the conquest of the Moorish kingdom of Granada in southern Spain, and the discovery of the new world by Columbus, made Spain one of the leading nations of Europe at the close of the fifteenth century. Yet in spite of the enormous possibilities for prosperity arising from the wealth of her new possessions, Spain failed to flourish. This was due to the short-sighted and selfish policy of the Spanish rulers. The gov-

ernment very early restricted commerce by means of heavy taxes, which brought small gain to the treasury at the expense of hampering trade. Trading ships were required to sail only at stated seasons, and from Cadiz in Spain to specified ports in the New World. Emigration was rendered difficult and unpromising by restrictions making it hard to obtain permission to go out and by the problem of securing employment in the colonies. No industry could be started in the Spanish colonies which might interfere with home manufacturing, and intercolonial commerce was forbidden. By the close of the eighteenth century, although the governmental policy had been somewhat reformed, the people in the Spanish colonies felt only bitterness against the home gov-

**Restrictions  
on Trade**

ernment for its oppression and bided their time to throw off the Spanish yoke.

**25. The Dutch as Traders.** — While Portugal and Spain were declining, a former dependency of the latter, the Protestant Netherlands, or Holland, became for a time foremost in the commercial world. The closure of the Portuguese commercial ports by Spain enabled the Dutch to gain control over the routes to the Far East and to maintain an active trade with the East Indies,



SPAIN'S COLONIAL EMPIRE ABOUT 1550, SHOWING LINES OF DEMARCATION

Portugal's operations were confined to the central and Spain's to the two outer divisions of this map.

Asia, and the Americas. The Dutch West India Company (founded in 1621) bore the brunt of the war on the seas against Spain, plundering many a richly laden galleon on its way back to Cadiz. Their East India Company was chartered by the government in 1602 to exercise a monopoly of trade from the Cape of Good Hope to the Malay archipelago, the Spice Islands, and Java. Nor were the Dutch principally interested in the Far Eastern trade, for more than half of their ships were engaged in the carrying trade with the ports of the Baltic and North Seas, taking over the position occupied in later mediaeval times by the Hansa towns. Other ships were transporting the manufactures

**The Dutch  
Trading  
Companies**

of the Dutch cities to all the ports of Europe. The Dutch fisheries were of greater extent and value than those of England and France combined during the same period. About 1650, England began to wrest from the Netherlands this supremacy of the seas. This change came about because of the small size of the Netherlands in comparison with her antagonist, the lack of a strong governmental policy, the control of trade by a



THE HARBOR OF AMSTERDAM, 1780

The various types of vessels in use in 1780 are here shown in the port of Amsterdam.

narrow commercial ring to the prejudice of its own narrow interests, and the aggressive policy of England, as illustrated by the Navigation Acts.

**26. The Mercantile System.** — These rival trading nations one and all followed the same course in the effort to dominate in the commercial world. Each adhered more or less closely to what was known as the mercantile system, believing that by it the nation could best serve the interests of trade and maintain its colonial supremacy. The supporters of this theory or system believed that it should be the chief business aim of every government to increase its stock of precious metals; or, at least, to buy

less of other countries than it sold to them, so as always to have more money due its citizens than it owed the citizens of other countries, thus maintaining a favorable *balance of trade*. As a writer of the reign of Henry VIII expressed it, "If we keep within us much of our commodities, we must always take heed that we buy no more of strangers than we sell them; for so we should impoverish ourselves and enrich them."



THE COLONIAL EMPIRE OF HOLLAND ABOUT 1650, SHOWING EXTENT OF HER TRADING OPERATIONS

In order to maintain a favorable balance of trade, it was necessary in the first place to limit imports. The same idea is back of the modern theory of the protective tariff, although the motive is not to influence the flow of money to other countries so much as to free our manufacturers from the pressure of competition from foreign producers. The only imports to be encouraged under this system were raw materials, as these could be made up for export. The export of raw materials was vigorously discouraged by law. Secondly, it was necessary to build up the export trade, for this stood on the credit side of the nation's books. Bounties, special privileges, either in the remission of taxes or in governmental aid, were given struggling industries so that the volume of exports might be constantly increased.

Exports  
and Imports

Bounties

**Commercial  
Treaties****The Methuen  
Treaty**

Commercial treaties were only entered into by a nation when they seemed to be based upon these principles or ideas. Illustrations of these are the Methuen and Assiento treaties. In 1703 England concluded the Methuen Treaty with Portugal whereby she agreed to exclude French wines from English ports by means of excessive import duties, while Portuguese wines were to come in free. In return, Portugal promised a free entry for English woolen goods and other manufactures into Portuguese and Brazilian ports, thus opening up the Portuguese colony to English traders, which proved of inestimable advantage to them. Ten years later, by the Assiento Treaty at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, England gained the right to send annually one trading ship of 500 tons burden to the Spanish colonies in America; but English merchants secretly increased the size of the cargo, often sending along a whole fleet as consorts to the one trading ship. This led to another war between England and Spain (sec. 32). Monopoly of the slave trade with the Spanish dependencies was also granted to the English by this treaty. Both these provisions greatly increased the volume of English commerce with the Spanish possessions.

**The Assiento  
Treaty****Colbert and  
State Aid**

A good example of the application of the principle of state aid for industry is to be found in France during the administration of Colbert, Louis XIV's minister of finance. His aim was to make France self-supporting. To this end he had enacted two tariff laws applying the principle of protection to almost every industry in France. He even bought the trade secrets and processes of manufacture from other nations and encouraged their workmen to remove to France and engage in industry. Generous loans of money were made by the government to men who would establish new industries, and rewards in the shape of prizes for fine workmanship were offered. In consequence, France became dotted with flourishing industrial plants. She soon attained the front rank in European industry and was able to compete with Italy in the manufac-

ture of silks, laces, and velvets, and with Holland and Flanders in the manufacture of linen and tapestries.

**27. The New Science of Political Economy and its Relation to Trade and Industry.** — The same reform movement which had given rise to the enlightened despotism witnessed the rise and development of a new science, that of economics or political economy, that is, the science of the production of wealth and its proper distribution among the members of society. Comparatively little attention had been given to this subject in earlier centuries. The growing realization, perhaps, of the political power which trade and industry brought with it, directed the attention of students and statesmen to those principles underlying sound development in this direction. These economists, who were to be found principally in France, sought at first to direct attention to the productive possibilities of the soil and saw in agriculture the true source of a nation's wealth. They were known as the Physiocrats. Others, however, began to appear who proclaimed another doctrine, namely that commerce and manufacturing, carried on under proper conditions, offered the greatest field of endeavor and promised the largest returns. They saw many objections to the mercantile system and began to direct their attacks upon it.

**Political  
Economy  
Defined**

**The  
Physiocrats**

Adam Smith, a brilliant Scotchman of the eighteenth century, who had been professor of philosophy at Glasgow University, published in 1776 an epoch-making book, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, in which he showed the importance of a freer trade between the nations of the world, and that selfishness on the part of a whole people is as destructive as individual selfishness. His teaching made slow progress at first, but as nations realized the soundness of his position they began to throw off the artificial restraints of the mercantile system and to enjoy that economic freedom which was rightfully theirs. Adam Smith had proclaimed the declaration of their economic independence.

**Adam Smith  
and the  
Wealth  
of Nations**



SUGGESTIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR  
FURTHER STUDY

1. What part was played by the guilds in politics in the Middle Ages?
2. Describe the life of a guild apprentice.
3. Report on the general policy of Henry VIII toward the guilds.
4. Give an account of the journeymen guilds.
5. Read Defoe's description in full.
6. Why are town fairs like those described no longer necessary? Describe Southwark Fair.
7. Write a letter to a friend, imagining a journey by land and water with a trader of the early eighteenth century.
8. What impression of mediaeval banking do you gain from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*?
9. Read Emerson Hough's "The Mississippi Bubble," and describe the novelist's impressions of stock-gambling in the eighteenth century.
10. Discuss the importance of the work of the trading companies from the standpoint of the spread of European culture.
11. How was the world divided between Spain and Portugal by a Pope? Has this line of demarcation persisted in the geographical bounds of modern states? Explain.
12. What was a galleon? the Spanish main? the Hanseatic league?
13. Compare the mercantile system with the American policy of protectionism (protective tariffs).
14. Discuss the effects of the slave-trade provision of the *Assiento*.
15. Compare the financial and economic measures of Colbert with those of Alexander Hamilton.
16. What is the relation of the science of economics to history?
17. Give a biographical sketch of Adam Smith, describe his principal writings, and discuss his influence on modern political theory.

## COLLATERAL READING

## I. THE GUILD SYSTEM.

- Beard, *Introduction to English Historians* (Ashley), pp. 169-184.  
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 147-61. Day, *History of Commerce*, pp. 47-52. Webster,  
*General History of Commerce*, pp. 99-100. Robinson and  
 Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 127-31.  
 Tickner, *Social and Industrial History of England*, pp. 42-57,  
 61-62. Hayes, *Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 36-43.

II. MEDIAEVAL TRADE AND COMMERCE, FAIRS, THE HANSEATIC  
LEAGUE.

- Cheyney, pp. 75-84. Day, pp. 54-127. Webster, pp. 55-105.  
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## III. BANKING AND CREDIT. THE BUBBLE PERIOD.

- Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. II,  
 part I, pp. 142-61, 446-56. Cheyney, pp. 193-8. Day, pp. 120-  
 41, 152-60. Tickner, pp. 358-71.

IV. ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN  
SOCIETY.

- Cunningham, pp. 1-12.

## V. THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM.

Cunningham, pp. 13-24. Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, pp. 50-64. Cheyney, pp. 167-9, 189-93. Day, pp. 161-72. Seignobos, *Contemporary Civilization*, pp. 57-9. Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 62-4.

## VI. PRIVILEGED COMPANIES FOR COMMERCE.

Cunningham, pp. 214-84. Cheyney, pp. 164-7. Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, pp. 123-46. Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 64-5.

## VII. BEGINNINGS OF COLONIZATION.

Cunningham, pp. 331-61. Cheyney, *European Background*, pp. 147-67. Thwaites, *The Colonies*, pp. 45-66. Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 55-62.

## VIII. THE ECONOMISTS.

Seignobos, pp. 59-62. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 179-82. Hirst, Adam Smith. Cunningham, pp. 93-7.

## SOURCE STUDIES

## 1. The Guilds.

Ordinances of typical guilds. Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, pp. 209-11. Bland, *English Economic History*, pp. 141-7. A typical guild. *Library of Original Sources*, Vol. IV, pp. 395-6. Adam Smith on the guilds of his day. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, Vol. I, pp. 142-5. Edict abolishing the guilds in France. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-6. Adam Smith's criticism of the guilds of his day. Bullock, *Readings in Economics*, pp. 104-14. Protest against a guild's exclusiveness, Bland, p. 282.

## 2. Fairs.

Sturbridge Fair in the eighteenth century, Bullock, pp. 325-31.

## 3. The domestic system.

An English market town of the eighteenth century. (Defoe), Bullock, pp. 331-3.

Description of the cloth trade of Halifax. (Defoe), *Ibid.*, pp. 116-7, note. Bland, pp. 482-7.

Organization of the woolen industry. Bland, pp. 354-5.

Domestic system compared with the factory system. (Parliamentary report), *Ibid.*, pp. 114-24.

## 4. Commercial policy of Colbert.

Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 13-4.

## 5. Adam Smith.

The mercantile system. *Library of Original Sources*, Vol. VI, pp. 399-427.

The Division of Labor. Bullock, pp. 287-98.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

1. On an outline map of England and the Netherlands show the principal wool-raising districts in the Middle Ages. 2. On a map of Europe show the mediaeval trade routes and the principal towns held by the Hanseatic league. 3. On a map of Asia show the mediaeval trade routes and important commercial towns and regions. 4. On a map of western Europe show the location of the principal town fairs of the Middle Ages. 5. Show the spheres of influence of the principal trading companies of the early modern period. 6. Show the commercial and colonial ventures of the Portuguese and Spaniards in the Far East. 7. Show the commercial and colonial ventures of these nations in the New World. 8. Show the Dutch colonial empire at its widest extent.

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Dow, *Atlas of European History*. Holt. The Hanseatic league at its height, p. 14<sup>2</sup>. The expansion of Europe—the great discoveries, p. 16.

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## CHAPTER III

### THE RIVAL COLONIAL AND COMMERCIAL POWERS AND THE COMMERCIAL WARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

28. **The Older World Powers and their Decay.** — In order to understand the colonial and commercial interests at stake in the commercial wars of the eighteenth century and the rivalry responsible for all this bloodshed, it is necessary to look over the colonial fields possessed by the various European countries and take the measure of their power there. Portugal had not recovered from the blighting effects of Spanish rule during the first half of the seventeenth century. The Dutch had seized many of her most valuable colonial possessions in the Far East, and only Goa, on the west coast of India, Macao, across the Bay from Hongkong in Asia, and part of the East Indian Island of Timor remained to her. In Africa she still retained Angola, Portuguese East Africa, and scattered islands along the coast. In America she held Brazil, but since the Methuen Treaty (sec. 26) she had acted as the agent for British merchants in disposing of their wares in Brazil, so England was benefited and not Portugal. Moreover France and Spain, to punish her for becoming the commercial vassal of England, placed heavy duties on goods imported from Portugal and thus deprived her of markets near at hand. Her colonial governors were dishonest men who plundered their domains. The blight of the slave trade was already beginning to lie heavily upon her, for she controlled not only the best source of supply, the west coast of Africa, but found a ready market for her slaves in Brazil.

Remnants  
of Portuguese  
Colonial Empire

**Spain in  
America**

Spain was in no position to fight for colonial mastery. The mistress of a vast American empire stretching from Cape Horn to Oregon, she had stifled its development by a burdensome system of taxation and a series of restrictions upon trade.

**The Dutch  
in Asia**

The colonies in Asia and the East Indies which the Dutch had obtained by settlement or conquest were treated less in the spirit of exploitation than were the Portuguese and Spanish colonies. The Dutch fostered among the natives a desire for European goods instead of compelling them to purchase commodities for which they had no use. The Dutch, however, could not free their colonial policy from extortion and graft. The seventeenth century marked the high tide of Dutch enterprise, but the wars in which the Netherlands were involved during the closing years of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries crippled her commerce and deprived her of other opportunities for colonial empire.

**Reasons for  
the Decay of  
Older Powers**

The chief reasons for the decay of the commercial and colonial supremacy of these older world powers were a mistaken idea that the colony was a place where the adventurous and daring might amass a comfortable fortune by all sorts of oppressive and unjust means to spend at home on their return, and the short-sighted policy of each government in not developing the resources of the colony, but, instead, draining it of its wealth.

**Expansion in  
America**

**29. The Expansion of England and France.** — The struggle for colonial supremacy in the eighteenth century, therefore, narrowed itself down to a contest between France and England. English and French colonization of the New World was well under way by the opening of the century. The Atlantic seaboard showed a division into twelve English colonies, soon to be thirteen by the founding of Georgia. The French settlements were along the St. Lawrence and in Nova Scotia. During the early part of the century the work of the Jesuit discoverers was to lay the foundation for the possession of Louisiana by France and the basis of their claim to the Ohio Valley. While each people was successful in its own way, there were

marked differences between the French and English as colonizers. These were clearly shown in their relations with the natives. The early settlers met the Indian in a threefold relation: as enemies, neighbors, and fellow-traders. While the English gained stamina, experience in self-government, and self-reliance in their wars with the Indians, the French found it easier to mix with rather than to fight with the natives. Another important difference was the result of the policy pursued by the French government. England had passed through the great Civil War and the Revolution of 1688 and, in consequence, had gained a more democratic government than was then known elsewhere among the great powers; France, under the personal rule of Louis XIV, had no conception of a government by the people. It was natural that the colonies of the two nations should reflect the governmental ideas of their mother countries. While the English-Americans were holding meetings of their assemblies and quarrelling with their governors over salaries and prerogatives, the French habitants, or farmers, and the *coureurs de bois*, or fur traders, were accepting without question the proclamations and edicts of the governor sent to rule them by Louis XIV.

Relations with  
the Natives

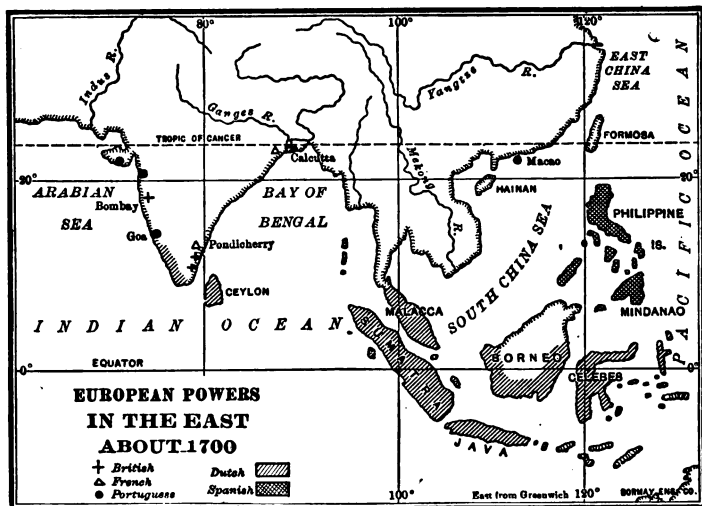
Systems of  
Government

Both England and France had East India Companies which strove for mastery over commercial and political affairs in India during the eighteenth century. This vast territory, peopled by two hundred millions or more of inhabitants and more densely populated than Europe at the time, offered a fair field for exploitation at the hands of Europeans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It fell an easy prey to the designing French and English merchants who coveted its riches. India was more like a continent than a single country, as it was composed of many states under different rulers and peopled by a variety of nations. An effort had been made to unite these when the Mughals invaded India in the sixteenth century. Although apparently successful for a time, especially between 1628 and 1707, the empire gradually declined and the states passed under the rule of native princes or descendants of the

England  
and France  
in India

Mughal governors, who founded new dynasties in their provinces. Each East India Company gradually acquired possession of several coast towns, which they fortified and used as centres of trade with the natives, maintaining factories at these posts, where they employed a large number of clerks, guards, and laborers, under the control of a governor appointed by the Company. These factories were simply depots or storehouses, where

#### The Factory



agents of the Company, known as factors, collected goods to be sent off to the mother country by the next ship which touched at that port. These towns frequently had to defend themselves from the attacks of native rulers and for this reason became little states by themselves, possessing in the course of time a well-trained army made up of the employees and native soldiers called sepoys. In 1668 Charles II gave to the English Company the important town of Bombay on the western coast, which he had received from Portugal as a part of his wife's dowry; and in 1686 the Company acquired land on the Hoogly River, where it built Fort William in 1696, around which Calcutta sprang up.

# PRINCIPAL MATTERS TO BE REMEMBERED ABOUT THE COLONIAL AND COMMERCIAL WARS, 1689-1783

EUROPEAN WAR	DATES	PARTIES	AMERICAN NAME	EVENTS	TREATY	TERMS
Palatinate, caused by Louis XIV's designs upon the Palatinate and the Netherlands	1689-97	England, Holland, etc., vs. France	King William's 1st French and Indian	Burning of Schenectady Campaigns in the Palatinate in Germany and in Belgium	Ryswick	No territorial gains William III reorganized king of England
Spanish Succession caused by the attempt to put a grandson of Louis XIV on the Spanish throne	1701-13	France, Spain, Bavaria, vs. England, Holland, Austria	Queen Anne's 2d French and Indian	Seizure of Acadia by England, also of Gibraltar and Minorca. Marborough's Campaigns on the Danube and in Belgium	Utrecht	England gained Acadia (Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay territory
Austrian Succession England drawn into an alliance with Austria against Prussia and France	1744-48	England, Austria vs. France, Spain, Prussia	King George's 3d French and Indian	Seizure of Louisburg by New England troops Campaigns by Frederick the Great of Prussia with him territory in Germany, 1741-45 France gains Madras	Aix-la-Chapelle	All conquered territory restored
Seven Years' War Hostilities between the colonists and unsettled political problems in Europe caused this war	1756-63	England, Prussia vs. France, Austria	The French and Indian, 1754-1763	The English capture all French posts in America, and in alliance with Frederick the Great aid him to victory in Germany. The battle of Plassey gives India to England	Paris	All French territory east of the Mississippi ceded to England and Louisiana to Spain. England received Florida in exchange for Cuba, which she had captured during the war
France and Spain drawn into an alliance against Great Britain	1778-83	England vs. U. S., France, Spain	The War for American Independence	Campaign around Boston Long Island Campaign Saratoga Campaign Southern Campaign	Versailles	American Colonies made Independent, Florida ceded to Spain



**War of the  
Palatinate**

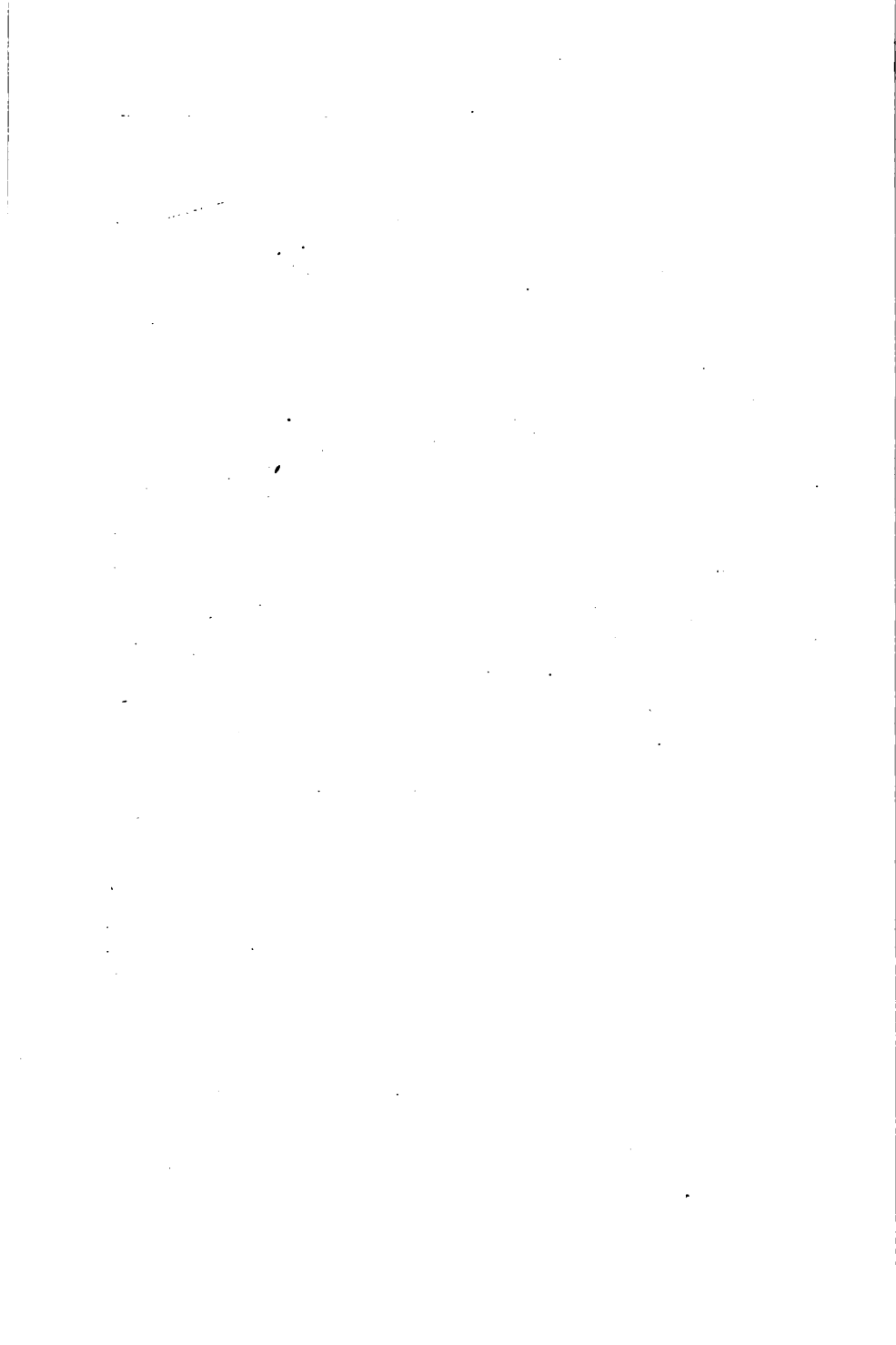
**30. The Rivalry between England and France.** — When William of Orange was called to the English throne in 1688, Great Britain became involved in a war between Louis XIV and the Netherlands, and thus began a struggle for supremacy, not only in Europe, but also in the forests of North America, upon the plains of India, upon the high seas and, in short, wherever the rival nations came into contact. The opening phase of the great struggle — called the War of the Palatinate because the French invaded that region at the outset — was indecisive. (See chart of wars, page 61.) The chief importance of this war lies in the fact that it was a forecast of the greater struggle to come. A peace was no sooner concluded (the Treaty of Ryswick) than William III began to make preparations for a renewal of the struggle.

**Causes for War  
between France  
and England**

This was precipitated by the death of Charles II of Spain in 1700. He had left his possessions by will to the grandson of Louis XIV of France, who had an hereditary claim to the crown. (See chart, page 478.) There were other claims, however, and several efforts had been made to adjust these and avert if possible a general European war. Only a year before his death a partition of the Spanish possessions had been agreed upon between Louis and William, to which the Spanish king was not a party, whereby Spain was to be given to the Archduke Charles of Austria. This treaty was broken by Louis XIV in 1700, when he recognized Philip as the King of Spain. William feared that the accession of Louis XIV's grandson to the throne of Spain would mean the practical joining of the kingdoms of France and Spain. The following year, when Louis XIV violated the recently signed Treaty of Ryswick by recognizing James Edward Stuart as the rightful king of England upon the death of his father, the exiled James II, the English parliament declared war. A Grand Alliance was formed between England, Austria, and the Dutch Republic which had as its objects: (1) the restoration to the Dutch of the fortresses in Belgium seized by Louis XIV; (2) the transfer to the Austrian claimant of the

**The Grand  
Alliance**





Spanish possessions in Italy; (3) the prevention of the union of France and Spain, thus preserving the balance of power; and finally (4) the maintenance upon the English throne of the new dynasty.

In addition to these primary and dynastic causes, powerful colonial influences were behind the struggle. In 1690, while the War of the Palatinate was being waged in Europe, the French, supported by their Indian allies, had made a raid upon the little town of Schenectady in the Mohawk Valley, and the terrors of Indian atrocities filled the minds of the English colonists with a spirit of vengeance. Other French and Indian attacks were made during the next few years upon the border settlements of the English in New England, in pursuance of the policy of the French Governor-general of Canada, Count Frontenac, to keep the English restricted to the territory already held by them in order to prevent them from developing the interior of the country and thus approaching the French possessions. In 1690, Massachusetts organized a small fleet under the command of Sir William Phipps and captured the fortress of Port Royal in Acadia, or Nova Scotia. Encouraged by this success, Phipps with a larger force later attempted to take Quebec, but without success. The news came to Boston that the French government was planning a combined land and sea attack on New England, and measures of defence were planned. The Treaty of Ryswick, however, gave a breathing spell. As by this compact Port Royal was restored to the French and the outrages by the Indians continued, the colonists were eager for a renewal of the war even before the campaign opened in Europe.

**Indian Raids**

**31. The War of the Spanish Succession and its Effects upon Colonial and Commercial Development.** — Although William III of England died just as the war was starting, and his sister-in-law Anne became queen, his true successor was the Duke of Marlborough, who welded together the allied armies of the English, Dutch, Austrians, and of several of the minor German states. At the outset the French king had the advan-

**The Duke of Marlborough**

tage in that he held the border fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, and in that an alliance with the Elector of Bavaria enabled him to prevent for a time the junction of the allied armies. In 1704 Marlborough made a brilliant march from the lower Rhine to the upper Danube, effected a junction with

Prince Eugene, the Austrian commander, routed the French at Blenheim (1704), and swept them out of Germany. Two years later another victory at Ramillies drove the French from the Spanish Netherlands, while Prince Eugene routed them from Italy. The victorious allies demanded as a price of peace that King Louis join them against his grandson, but the aged monarch drew back. "If I must wage war," said he, "I would rather wage it against



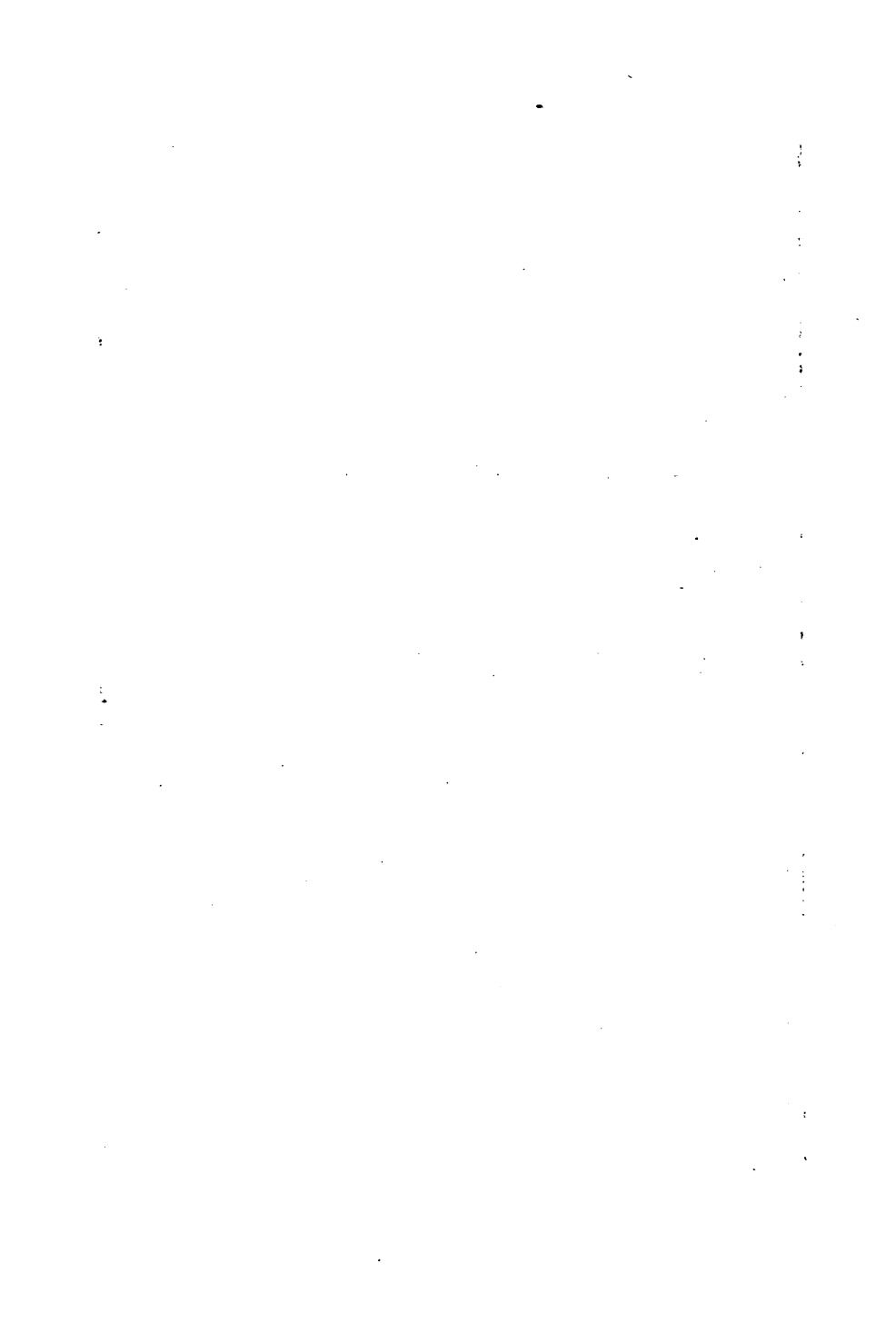
THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

my enemies than against my children." He sent another army against the allies, but it was half-starved and poorly equipped, and although his men fought with desperation they were defeated at Malplaquet. In 1711, at the death of the Emperor Joseph, the Archduke Charles succeeded to the imperial title. England now perceived that further efforts to gain for him the throne of Spain, if successful, would as seriously disturb the balance of power as to acquiesce in the succession of Philip V. Furthermore, it was discovered that Marlborough had been enriching himself at the expense of the army, and a change of ministry in England found the English people ready for peace at any price.

In America, Port Royal, the chief town of Acadia, had been recaptured by the colonial troops. Acadia, or Nova Scotia, as the English renamed it, included not only the peninsula now so called, but also the territory as far west as Maine and north

Blenheim  
and Ramillies

Malplaquet





to the St. Lawrence. In the Peace of Utrecht, signed in 1713 between England and France, Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay fur-trading territory were definitely given to England. The original object of the war was not mentioned, except in the proviso that the thrones of Spain and France should

Peace  
of Utrecht



GIBRALTAR

An unusual view of the great rock at Gibraltar. Above the town, which nestles at the foot of the rock, towers the great natural fortress.

never be united, and by Philip's renouncing all right of succession to the throne of France. He ceded Minorca and Gibraltar to England, two commanding strategic points in the Mediterranean. Louis XIV recognized Anne's right to the throne of England. An accompanying treaty between England and Spain gave the former the monopoly of the slave trade with the Spanish colonies in America and the right to send one ship annually to trade at the Isthmus of Panama. It was at the time of this war that the Methuen Treaty between England and Portugal gave England the commercial dictatorship over that country.

Assiento Treaty



The increase of colonial empire as a result of this war greatly encouraged English commerce, for both France and the Netherlands were exhausted by the war on their frontiers, and the Dutch were no longer able to compete with the English on the seas. England was now the one great sea-power in Europe. The naval operations of this war and of the preceding struggle had demonstrated beyond a doubt her naval power. On



FREDERICK THE GREAT

the other hand, France had lost the prestige in European affairs which had been hers for over half a century as a result of the statesmanship of Richelieu, Mazarin, Colbert, and Louis XIV. A year after the close of the war Queen Anne died, and George, the Elector of Hanover, quietly took the English throne, notwithstanding an unsuccessful attempt upon the part of James Edward to regain the throne of his father. At the very time of this rising, Louis XIV died and was succeeded

by his greatgrandson, Louis XV. The advisers of Louis XV and the English prime minister, Walpole (sec. 37), favored peace, and for this reason the final settlement of the struggle for mastery was postponed for a quarter of a century.

**32. War of the Austrian Succession.** — The Assiento Treaty, in its permission to the English to send one ship annually to the Isthmus of Panama, was a remote cause of the next great general European war in that it led to friction between England and Spain, whose destinies were now closely bound up with those of France on account of the league of offence and defence entered into by Spain and France in 1733, an understanding which foreshadowed the famous Family Compact of the Bourbons of

Accession  
of George I

The Family  
Compact  
between France  
and Spain

1761. The English traders took advantage of the Assiento Treaty in the following manner. After the one ship of 500 tons' burden permitted by the treaty had sailed into Porto Bello and discharged her cargo, at night smaller boats which had lain hidden by day, sailed in and reloaded it, thus enabling much more than the cargo intended by the treaty to be landed. British smuggling in Spanish colonial ports was rife, and when the Spanish officials captured any of these smugglers they took summary vengeance upon them. One case of such punishment was brought to the attention of the House of Commons and aroused a desire for vengeance in the hearts of Englishmen and led to a declaration of war against Spain in 1739. This war, called the War of Jenkins's Ear from the act of barbarism which began



MARIA THERESA, ARCHDUCHESS OF AUSTRIA AND QUEEN OF HUNGARY

**War of  
Jenkins's Ear**

**Ambitions  
of Frederick  
the Great and  
their Effects  
on Europe**

it, dragged on for several years and finally was merged with a general European war that arose from the territorial ambitions of Frederick the Great of Prussia and from the question of who should succeed as ruler over the possessions of the Emperor Charles VI, who died in 1740. In spite of the fact that Charles, by the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, had induced the various European rulers to recognize his daughter, Maria Theresa, as heir to his Hapsburg possessions, she was not allowed to ascend the throne without a severe struggle. Frederick II, who had come to the Prussian throne five months before, at Charles's death rejected his father's promise to the late emperor and threw an army into the Austrian province of Silesia, which he speedily conquered and annexed. France entered the

war against Maria Theresa, on behalf of the Elector Charles of Bavaria, who was chosen emperor in 1742, while England, fearing the loss of her Hanoverian possessions if Frederick became too powerful, declared war against France and Prussia in 1744.<sup>1</sup>



A PRUSSIAN GRENA-  
DIER

Clive and  
Dupleix in  
India

The Austrian  
Succession War  
in India

The father of Frederick the Great delighted in collecting tall soldiers from all parts of Europe for his splendid army.

**33. Colonial Interests Involved.** — Our main interest in this war lies more in the colonial interests involved than in the tangle of European diplomacy, war, and treaty which accompanied it. In India and in America the struggles between the English and French were destined to produce far-reaching results. One of the clerks of the East India Company's factory at Madras was Robert Clive, the son of a poor English landholder, who because of his incorrigibility had been shipped off to far-away India to be straightened out in the school of experience. His first years there were wretched, and, tormented by home-sickness and poverty, he twice attempted suicide. When the war of the Austrian Succession began, the French attempted to drive the English out of India. Madras was captured and destroyed, and Clive narrowly escaped being carried prisoner with his fellow-clerks to Pondicherry, a French post over a hundred miles south on the sea-coast, of which Dupleix was governor. The French were still in possession of Madras when the European war ended, and although this conquest was returned to the English, the war could hardly be said

<sup>1</sup> During this war occurred the battle of Dettingen, in which George II participated. This was the last occasion in which an English monarch actually was present on the field of battle until the European war of our own day. In 1745 Charles Edward, the son of James Edward, made a more strenuous effort than that of his father to regain the throne for the Stuarts, but he was easily defeated and driven into exile on the continent.

to have ended in India, for Dupleix now conceived the plan of building up a great French colonial empire and began to put his plan into operation by a series of intrigues with the native princes, which cost the English a tremendous struggle in the next decade.



BOMBAY

It is difficult to recognize in this modern city the ancient Parsee capital of India, Bombay.

In the far west, too, along the borders of Canada where the French faced the English in Nova Scotia, in the New England colonies, and in New York, there were ceaseless hostilities. These took the form of raids across the frontier and Indian outrages, which were little affected by formal declarations of war or peace between the parent countries. The only important

**The War of  
the Austrian  
Succession  
in America**

military enterprise in America in the period of the Austrian Succession War, was the capture of the strongly fortified French post of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island by a force composed chiefly of Massachusetts men under the command of Governor Shirley and Colonel William Pepperell.

**The Treaty of  
Peace and Its  
Results**

The return of this fortress, so dearly bought by the colonials, in the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which in 1748 closed the European hostilities, was one of the remote causes of the War for American Independence. The colonists could not see why the English returned to the French this stronghold whence piratical expeditions had harried the coasts of all New England. Yet England regained her factory of Madras, and this seemed at the time of greater importance to her than Louisbourg. Frederick retained Silesia; but with the exception of some cessions to the little state of Sardinia, all territory gained during the war was restored to its former owners by this treaty. Thus three important issues were left for future settlement: the enmity between Maria Theresa and Frederick the Great; the struggle for commercial and political mastery in India; and the clashing interests of France and England in America.

**Beginnings of  
French and  
Indian War**

**34. The French and Indian War.** — France laid claim to the interior of the American continent west of the Alleghanies, and the governor of Canada ordered all Englishmen driven from the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. The Ohio Company was organized to colonize west of the Alleghanies, and its traders and settlers challenged the French to drive them out. Accordingly a French force of 1200 men, far outnumbering the few English settlers, was sent into this region, and important strongholds, among them Fort Duquesne, were established along the Great Lakes and the Ohio River and its branches, notwithstanding the efforts of George Washington to block them. Unsuccessful in the fall of 1753 in his mission to the French commander, Washington returned in the spring of 1754 with a small body of men to the vicinity of Fort Duquesne and won a skirmish at Great Meadows, but was forced to surrender



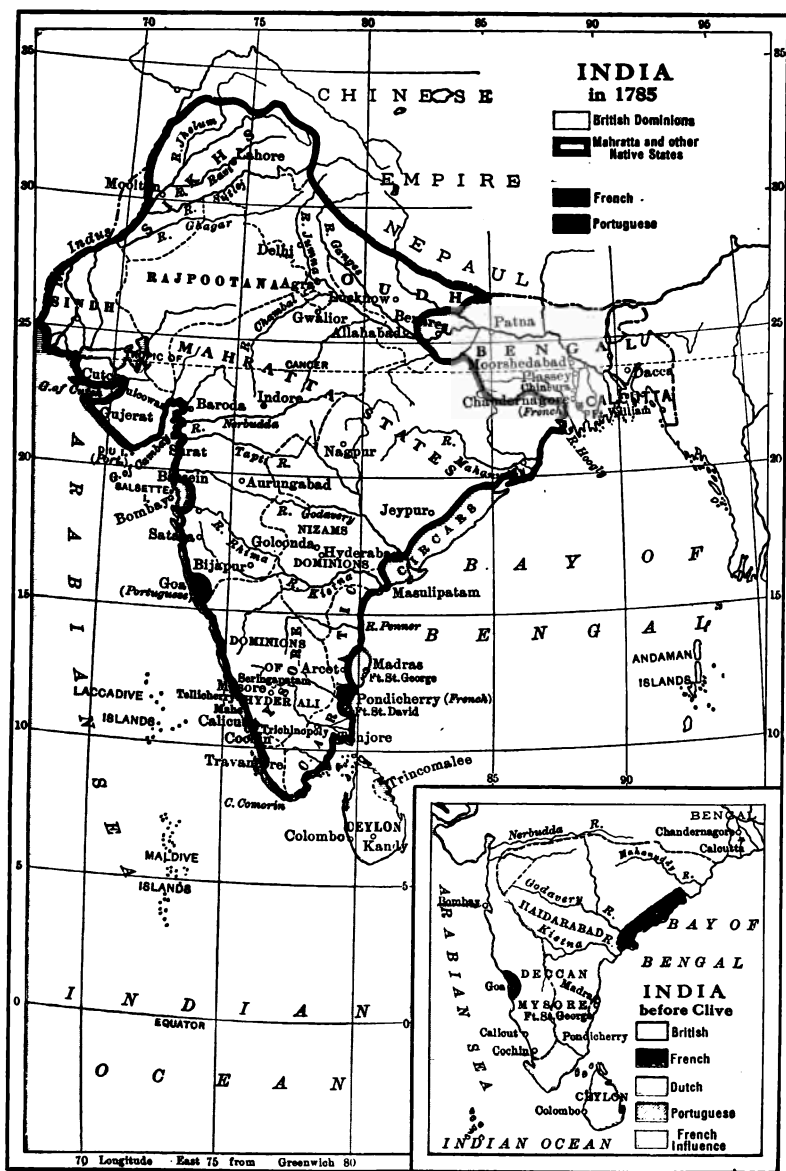
at Fort Necessity. In a short time troops were on their way from Europe, and at last the French and Indian War had begun in earnest.

The first period of this war was one of disaster for the English. A force under General Braddock and Washington was crushed while attempting to capture Fort Duquesne, and Montcalm gained Oswego and Fort William Henry for the French. The causes for French success may be found in the lack of unity in the British possessions in America, which manifested itself in jealous quarrels between the colonies, and in the failure of the colonial troops to coöperate heartily with the British officers. But the memory of the first disasters of the war was blotted out by the victories that followed after William Pitt became the head of the English government in 1757. He adopted a definite, aggressive policy. More and better troops were sent to the colonies under able officers, and officers holding colonial commissions were accorded the same consideration as those in the regular army. Louisbourg, Fort Duquesne, Niagara, Quebec, and Montreal were successively captured, and by 1760 French dominion in North America had been destroyed.

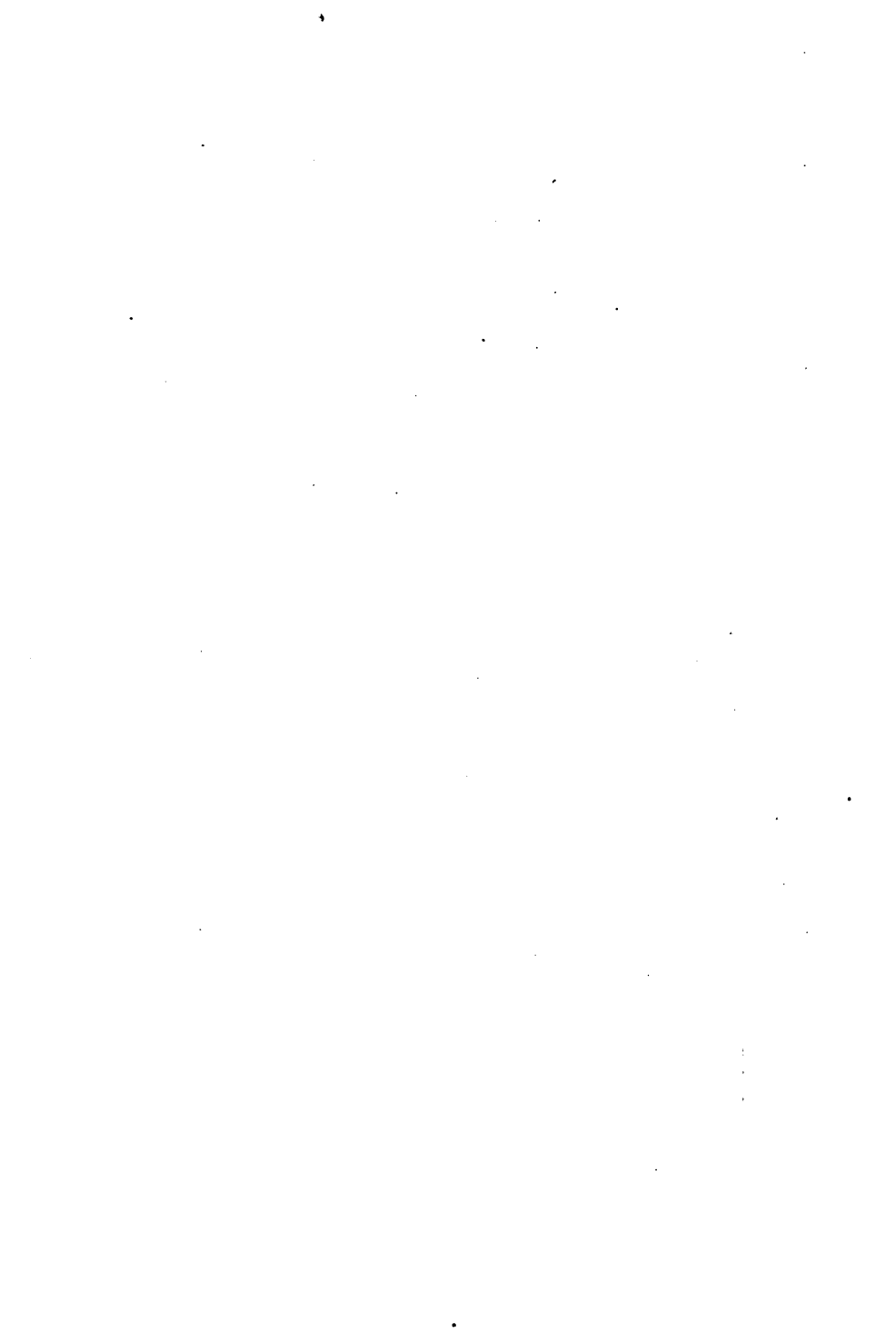
**35. Clive in India.** — Meanwhile important events had been transpiring in Asia. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had returned Madras to the English in 1748, but in the same year Dupleix, the French governor, was granted full control over the Circars (see map opposite) by the native prince of that region as a reward for the assistance which he had rendered in securing for him his crown. As the English had aided his unsuccessful rival, matters looked dark for them. In the war which followed, Clive, the clerk in the East India Company's factory in Madras, showed his genius and power of leadership in the capture and defence of Arcot — an exploit that "marked the turning point of the fortunes of the English in India." His contact with Dupleix had impressed him with three important truths: first, that native armies were unable to resist the disciplined troops of Europe; that European discipline could easily be imparted to natives;

The Progress  
of the War

Capture and  
Defence of  
Arcot







and finally that in Asiatic warfare the true way to victory is to attack boldly and without hesitation. In 1753 he returned to England, having saved southeastern India from Dupleix, who was recalled to France in disgrace a year later.

Sent back in 1755 as governor of Fort St. David near Madras, Clive soon found an opportunity for even greater service. Siraj-ud-daula, the native governor of Bengal, in all probability inspired by the French, suddenly attacked and captured Calcutta after a feeble resistance. He confined the 146 English prisoners taken in a cell measuring only eighteen feet square, where they sweltered in agony for a whole night. When morning came and the prison was opened, only twenty-three were living. When the news of this outrage reached Clive, he

hastened from Madras to Bengal, and with a tiny army of 1000 Englishmen and 2000 sepoys inflicted a decisive defeat upon Siraj-ud-daula's army of 50,000 at Plassey (1757). This victory placed a large part of Bengal in the hands of the British. Three years later the French in the region of Madras were finally thwarted in all their plans of extending their power



The Black Hole of Calcutta

#### ROBERT CLIVE

Robert, Lord Clive, here appears as the successful military governor and man of affairs whom Pitt hailed as "a heaven-born general." Three years after Plassey, Clive returned to England with a great fortune, entered the House of Commons, and was raised to the peerage. During the years 1765 to 1767 Clive was sent back to India to introduce reforms, but he made many enemies and on his next return to England he had to face a parliamentary inquiry as to his administration. Disappointed and ill, he committed suicide.

Plassey

**Wandewash**

at the battle of Wandewash, and the following year the English forces captured Pondicherry. Thus almost at the same time was ended the English-French struggle for supremacy in North America and in India.

**Causes  
of Seven  
Years' War**

**36. The Seven Years' War.** — Thus far we have neglected the European background of this tremendous colonial struggle. Maria Theresa had never forgiven Frederick the Great for his seizure of Silesia, although his title to that province was es-



GROWTH OF BRANDENBURG — PRUSSIA

**Alliance  
between France  
and Austria**

established by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The position of Austria in Europe was strengthened by a secret treaty of alliance with France. This was an event of tremendous significance in that it immediately detached France from the number of her enemies and bound her closely to Austria. But it also divided the strength and energy of France at a time when the prosecution of the struggle in Asia and America was at its height. This alliance was strengthened by the addition of Russia, whose empress was easily persuaded to take up arms against Prussia because of her hatred for its ruler. As England was at this time contending for colonial supremacy with France, she became Prussia's only ally and aided Frederick with grants of

money until the death of George II in 1760. When William Pitt was called upon to direct the war he realized that the question of colonial supremacy would be settled as much upon the plains of Europe as in the forests of America, so he gave Frederick the Great all the assistance in his power. For several years Frederick maintained a desperate struggle against odds, but the death of the Empress Elizabeth in 1762 brought Peter III, a great admirer of Frederick, to the Russian throne, and he promptly made peace with Prussia. France now was stripped of her colonies and weary of the war. Accordingly the treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg (1763) put an end to this gigantic struggle.

Policy of  
William Pitt



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF  
CHATHAM

By the former compact England received Florida from Spain in return for Cuba, which she had captured during the war, and was confirmed in her title to Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton Island. She also regained Minorca in the Mediterranean, which had been captured during the war. France ceded Louisiana to Spain and regained Pondicherry and other posts in India which she had lost during the war, but was never able to regain her lost supremacy in the East. Thus ended France's eighteenth-century dream of colonial empire.

Treaty of  
Paris

Colonial  
Cessions

**37. Attempts of England to Modify her Colonial Policy.** — The situation in America during the War of the Austrian Succession and at the opening of the Seven Years' War brought home to English administrators as never before the weaknesses of their colonial system. The accession of the Hanoverian rulers, and the development of party government under Walpole and his successors, had permitted a neglect of the colonies which not only tended to weaken the hold of the mother country upon them but placed them at the mercy of England's

**Reasons  
for Change in  
Colonial Policy**

enemies in time of war. It was largely the necessity of uniting the forces of these oversea dominions against the encroachments of the French that prompted a more vigorous policy than had thus far been pursued. When the great struggle was over the situation seemed to demand that the American colonies should not only repay a part of the expenditure of the millions of pounds sterling which had been spent in establishing British dominion in America, but that they should help bear the burden of the new plans of defence which experience had shown to be so necessary.

**The Mercantile  
System in  
Theory**

In theory the colonies had all along been regulated according to the principles laid down by the advocates of the mercantile system. Laws had been passed and regulations made in harmony with these ideas. The Navigation Act of 1660 restricted colonial commerce to vessels built in English ship-yards and manned with crews of which at least three fourths were English subjects. Its object was to encourage the ship-building industry as well as to deprive the Dutch of their supremacy in the carrying trade. A second act passed in 1663 forbade the direct European importation by the colonies of goods of nations other than England. Such goods might be ordered through British merchants at an increased cost. A third law (1672) required the exportation of certain "enumerated articles," such as tobacco and rice, only by way of England.

**The Molasses  
Act, 1733**

Then again there was the Molasses Act (1733), which laid almost prohibitive duties upon molasses coming into the English colonies from Spanish or French possessions. Its purpose was to give the English planters in Jamaica a monopoly over the supply for New England's rum industry; but the New Englanders smuggled molasses in defiance of the act and the attempts to enforce it only increased the irritation felt against the mother country. Colonial manufacturing labored under the discouragement of laws to prevent all industries which might compete with those of England. Hat-making, woolen-weaving, and the manufacture of iron were among the industries which suffered by the restrictions.

**Restrictions on  
Manufacturing**

These restrictions, however, were not excessive as viewed through the eyes of European statesmen of the time. The colony was expected to be of assistance to the mother country in furnishing a market for her manufactures. While the colonial policies of Spain and France choked out all healthful colonial development, England's policy limited her colonies only in certain directions.

To administer these laws properly there had been created as early as the Stuart period a standing committee of the British Privy Council known as the Board of Trade. This Board received regular reports from colonial governors concerning the revenues of the colonies, the actions of their legislatures, and the state of agriculture and trade. It had the power to order the governors to veto offensive legislation by the colonial assemblies. Besides this body there was a Secretary of State who gave attention to various colonial matters. A certain harmony of action was secured through the maintenance of agents in London by many of the colonies, who acted much as our consuls do.

Furthermore, admiralty courts had been established in America to enforce the laws against smuggling and to assist in carrying out those trade regulations which were enacted in the interests of British commerce. The government possessed an even more effective method of control—in theory at least—in the charters granted to the separate colonies and in the power to appoint colonial governors. It was claimed by many English administrators that these charters could be withdrawn or annulled at will. By this means and through the officials appointed by the crown, it was always possible for the home government to make its power felt. "Having thrived on England's neglect of them," to quote Colonel Barre in the House of Commons, the colonists readily took offence as the hand of the mother country began to weigh more heavily upon them.

All the necessary laws and machinery were at hand for con-

Board of Trade

Admiralty  
CourtsColonial  
Charters

The Mercantile  
System in  
Practice

trolling the colonies in the interest of the mother country, but they were either ignored or enforced in a desultory and haphazard fashion. The Whigs, or merchant class, controlled the government throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. So long as they were able to maintain their power at home and times were prosperous and markets were available for the exports of England, no one worried much about the "far flung" Empire. It seemed more important in Walpole's time to maintain the Hanoverian dynasty against the efforts of the exiled Stuarts to overthrow it than to insist upon prerogative, or to engage in a struggle over principle. English ministers were more engrossed in plans for attaining party success than in measures of imperial defence, or in binding these scattered territories more closely to the mother country. Then too, times were good and they did not propose to worry about colonial matters. So long as the Tory minority commanded good prices for their agricultural products, they too wasted little time or thought over colonial or imperial problems.

Enforcement  
of Law

But bitter experience, as has already been pointed out, gradually emphasized the necessity of an abandonment of the motto which had guided Walpole and the statesmen of his generation "to let sleeping dogs lie." The colonies began to be aware of this in the period between 1750 and 1770. One of the earliest evidences of the change was the more stringent enforcement of the laws against smuggling. However, this policy was never fully carried out. Custom-houses for the collection of the tariffs on specified goods were not established until there was a profitable trade in these goods, and then the customs officers connived with the colonial merchants in the practice of smuggling the goods into the country.

Attempt to  
Secure Admin-  
istrative Unity

There had been times when the home government realized the importance of uniformity in the handling of the colonies and the desirability of administrative unity. James II had sent Sir Edmund Andros over to effect this, but his short tenure of office soon terminated the experiment. Each colony continued

to be treated as a separate unit, and there was little accomplished in the direction of consolidation or unification.

The situation was complicated by the aims and policies of George III, the new ruler of England, who had ascended the throne three years before the close of the Seven Years' War. He disliked the cabinet government which 'had developed in England during the reigns of the first two Georges, for he wished to rule as well as reign. From babyhood his mother had urged upon him the motto, "George, be king!" and he determined to destroy the power of the ministry and be a king indeed, as was the French monarch. Poorly educated, narrow-minded, unable to grasp the difficult problems presented by the colonial situation,



Aims and  
Character of  
George III

KING GEORGE III OF ENGLAND

he nevertheless possessed industry and a power in political intrigue. In justice to this man, whom the Americans formerly painted as a tyrant of the worst possible type, it must be said that in his personal character he excelled most of the statesmen of his time. To attain the power which he coveted he entered the political arena and by open bribery, or by more stealthy flattery and an appeal to self-interest, surrounded himself with a group of men called the "king's friends." He was now in a position to act as his own prime minister, as this group was powerful enough to give his measures a majority in parliament. He did not dispense with the office of prime minister, however, but those who filled it were gradually reduced to the



position of the king's agents. He became responsible for their acts, as had not been true in the case of his royal predecessors.

**38. The Opposition in America.** — In 1763 George Grenville was made prime minister, and in 1764, with the support of his royal master, he "adopted a series of measures relating to the American Colonies which produced the first of a series of explosions that led to the Revolutionary War and the consequent dismemberment of the British Empire."<sup>1</sup> He believed that the colonies should be taxed to make up the deficit caused by the French and Indian War; that a force should be maintained in the colonies for their defence; and that the entire colonial administration should be remodelled in the interest of uniformity and of efficiency. Accordingly, resolutions were offered in parliament, declaring it to be the policy of the government to impose a stamp tax, and in 1765 such an act was passed. A new Sugar Act was passed, reducing the former prohibitive rates on molasses imported from the West Indies, but imposing new duties upon coffee, pimento, white sugar, and indigo from the Spanish and French West Indies, and upon wine from the Madeiras and the Azores — a measure which, if enforced, would bring ruin to many a New England merchant and trader. A measure was also enacted authorizing the despatch of 10,000 soldiers to America and providing that one third of the cost of their maintenance should be paid by the proceeds of the revenue laws in force in America. The colonists, while protesting in the famous Stamp Act Congress against England's attempt to impose internal taxes, such as the Stamp Act, acknowledged the right of parliament to regulate external taxation. Yet smuggling continued on such a scale that the government decided to put an end to it. The protest against the Stamp Act found an approving voice in parliament. William Pitt, now the Earl of Chatham, came from a sick-bed to argue moderation and reason in the treatment of the colonies, and the act was repealed.

In 1766 Townshend became the leading figure in the cabi-

<sup>1</sup> See Cross, *England*, pp. 746 ff.

Measures of  
Grenville

Stamp Act  
Congress

net. He was in hearty accord with Grenville's colonial policy and at once proposed a series of restrictive measures which are known by his name. He undertook to defray the expenses of maintaining troops in America by external taxes. Port duties were therefore levied on tea, glass, paper, and red and white lead. A Board of Commissioners was established at Boston to try cases of smuggling, and Writs of Assistance<sup>1</sup> were specifically legalized for use in obtaining evidence for such trials. At the same time, in order to punish the New York Assembly for disobedience in the matter of furnishing supplies to the British troops quartered on that colony, Townshend secured the passage of a law suspending the law-making power of the Assembly until it should have followed instructions concerning supplies. Townshend died suddenly in 1767, but his policy was not relaxed.

**The Townshend  
Acts**

**Writs of  
Assistance**

The colonies were united in their hostility to the Townshend measures. Prominent merchants in Boston, New York, and other important towns formed agreements to import none of the taxed goods until the act should be repealed. The women formed societies called "Daughters of Liberty" and pledged themselves to use only "made-in-America" goods. Samuel Adams, a prominent brewer of Boston, prepared for the Massachusetts Assembly a set of resolutions addressed to the ministry, a petition to George III, and a letter to be circulated in the various colonial assemblies. The government ordered the governors to prevent the assemblies from meeting, and troops were stationed in Boston in 1768. The spirit of revolt flamed out in the colonies. British revenue officers were mobbed while attempting to collect duties, or as they tried to seize smugglers. Soldiers and citizens rioted in the streets of Boston, and five colonists were killed. When the government seemed inclined to withdraw from its position and repealed all the duties

**Non-inter-  
course  
Agreements**

**Petitions to  
England**

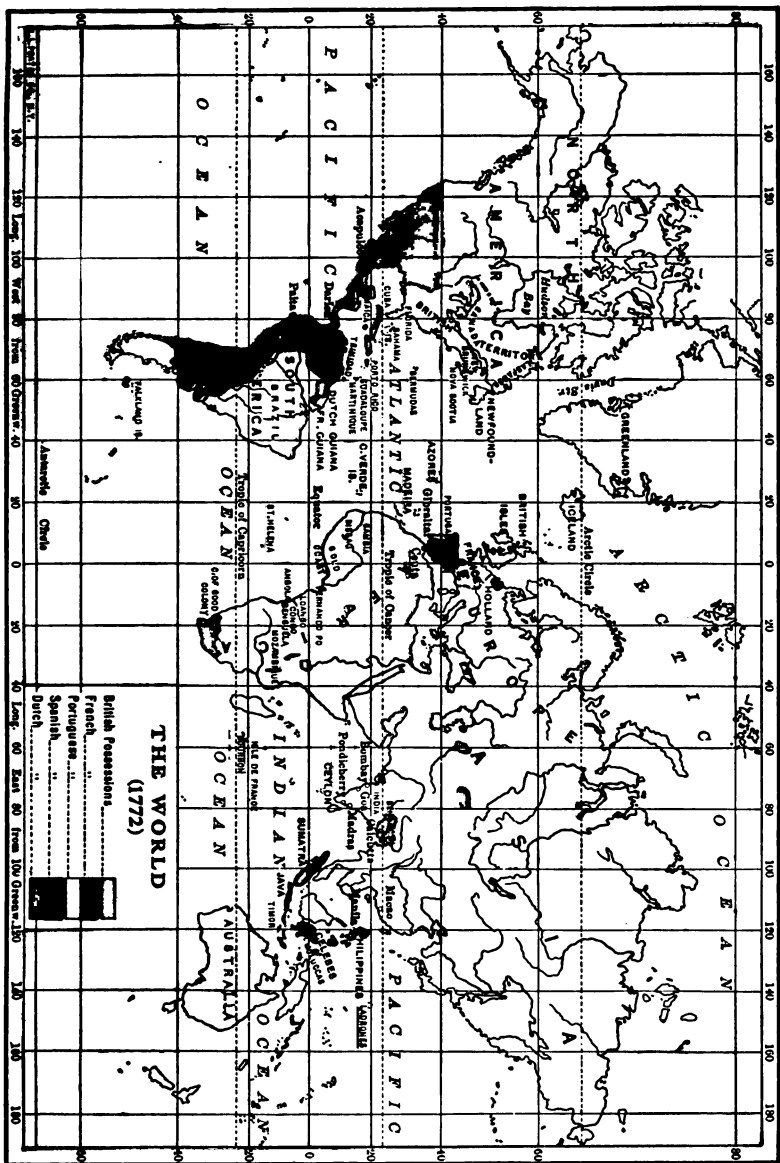
<sup>1</sup> These writs were in effect warrants signed by the Court, giving the officers of customs the right to search private houses when suspected of containing smuggled goods.

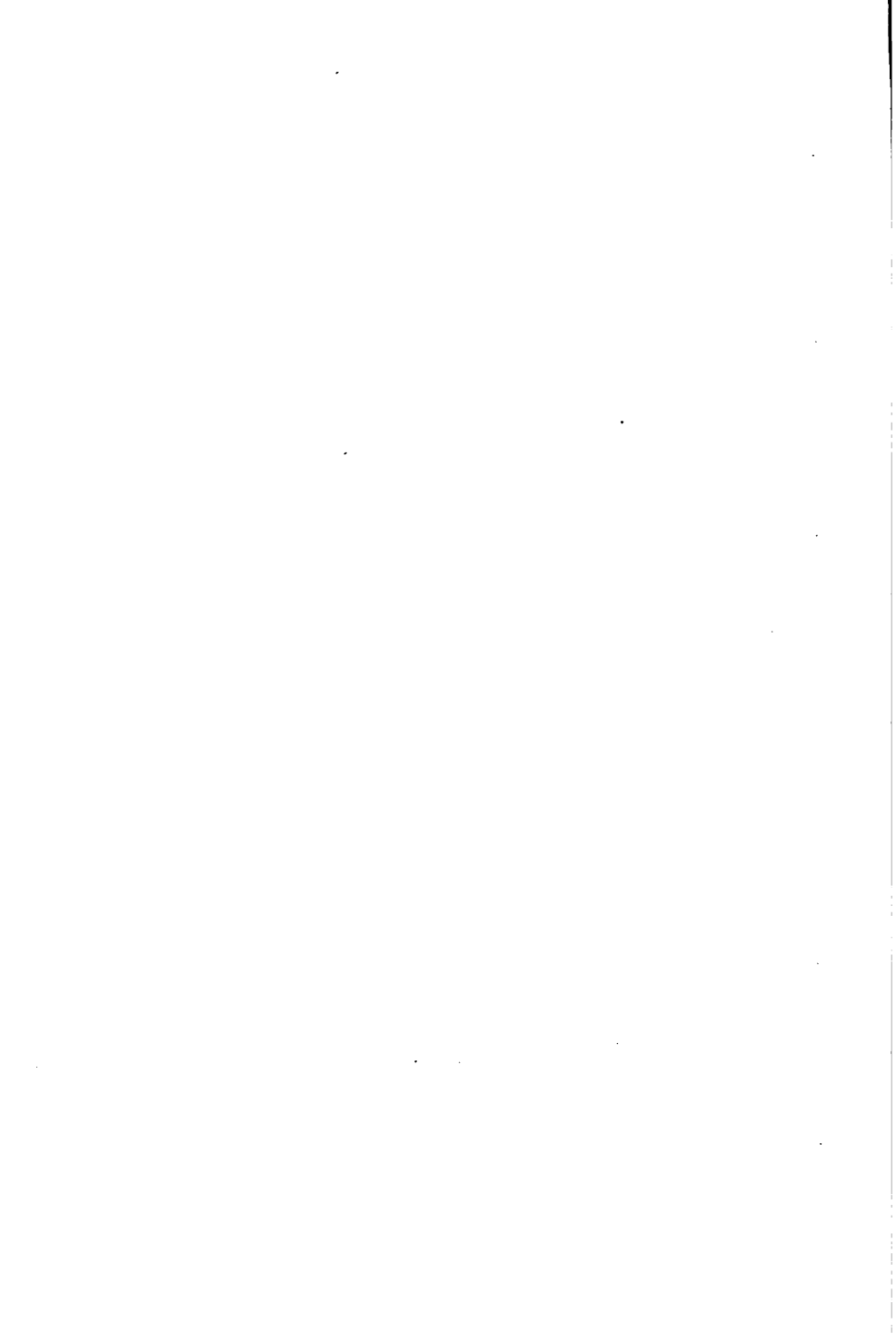
except that on tea, ships bringing tea were captured by daring Americans and their cargoes dumped overboard or boldly carried ashore to be sold without one penny of taxation.

Attempts to unify the American colonies by means of congresses had been made for nearly a century. At the time of the War of the Palatinate and of the last French and Indian War, congresses had been held to consider means of defence against Indian raids and to lay plans for a more effective union. The Stamp Act Congress (1765), to which reference has already been made, brought together representatives from nine colonies in New York. Committees were appointed in the Massachusetts towns, and later in most of the colonies, to correspond with other towns in order to keep them informed concerning the latest actions of the British and to make plans for united resistance. These brought forth in 1774 the first truly continental congress, for twelve colonies were represented in it. This congress drew up a statement of the position of Americans concerning representation and taxation, petitioned the king for reforms, and appealed to the people of the province of Quebec to unite with them. Before they adjourned they provided for a second meeting in 1775. United action by the colonies at this time was hastened by five acts of parliament passed in 1774, which, because of their oppressive character, are known as the Five Oppressive or Intolerable Acts. These were (1) The Boston Port Act, closing Boston harbor and compelling all commerce to reach Boston from the Port of Salem; (2) The Regulating Act, setting aside the self-governing features of the Massachusetts charter; (3) The Transportation Act, providing that all *government officers* charged with crime might be transported to another colony or to Britain for trial; (4) The Quartering Act, billeting soldiers on the inhabitants of Boston; and (5) The Quebec Act, adding the region north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi to the province of Quebec, thus virtually nullifying all land grants in the northern colonial charters.

The First  
Continental  
Congress

The Intolerable  
Acts





War had already begun when the members of the second continental congress assembled at Philadelphia in May, 1775, and there was need for action. It accordingly arranged for financing the war by borrowing money and issuing continental currency, and authorized the formation of a continental army and navy. The following year the tide had set in toward independence in response to the bitter and insulting reception of all colonial petitions by the king and because of his employment against the colonies of several thousand mercenary soldiers, from Hesse in Germany. Thomas Paine, a young Englishman, somewhat discredited at home because of his religious and social ideas and but recently landed in America, published in January, 1776, a brief treatise called *Common Sense*, urging independence. In June Richard Henry Lee proposed a resolution "that these colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, and they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." July 4, 1776, saw the passage of the Declaration of Independence, which was drawn up by a committee of Congress, headed by Jefferson. England had lost her American colonies south of the St. Lawrence. The importance of this step from the standpoint of European history was that it enabled the United States to isolate Great Britain by a series of foreign alliances, especially with France.

The Second  
Continental  
Congress

Thomas Paine

Declaration of  
Independence

**39. The American Revolution.** — The first two years of fighting were marked by skirmishes around Boston, an ill-advised American invasion of Canada, the capture of New York by General Howe, and the brilliant raids of Washington on Trenton and Princeton. In the summer of 1777 England set herself determinedly to work to separate New England, the hot-bed of the rebellion, from the rest of the colonies. A threefold plan of campaign was arranged: General Burgoyne was to move south from Canada by Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson Valley;

Campaign of  
1776-77

St. Leger was to move up the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, thence to the Mohawk Valley and follow that river to its confluence with the Hudson, effecting a junction with Burgoyne; while Howe was to move from New York up the Hudson to meet the other armies. Through the carelessness of the British war office, Howe did not receive the details of the plan, and instead went on a campaign of his own to capture Philadelphia by a roundabout sea route through the Chesapeake. This campaign was successful as far as the capture of Philadelphia was concerned, but it really crippled the important campaign of that year by the withdrawal of Howe's forces. St. Leger was turned back in the Mohawk Valley, and Burgoyne was forced to surrender his entire army at Saratoga. This victory turned the eyes of France upon America and brought aid in the form of a generous loan of money and in an offensive and defensive alliance against Great Britain. After the failure of the northern campaign, Great Britain gave her attention to the southern colonies and was in the main successful until Cornwallis was trapped on the Yorktown peninsula by Washington's army while the French fleet prevented reinforcements from reaching him. The surrender of Cornwallis marked the close of British efforts in America. France was reaping a royal revenge upon her ancient rival. A combined French and Spanish fleet swept the English channel clear of British ships and seized British colonies. The states of the north of Europe took issue with the British claim to the right of search of neutral vessels on the high seas by establishing a league known as the "Armed Neutrality," which defended the doctrine that "Free ships make free goods." Finding herself either at war or on bad terms with most of Europe, Great Britain was finally forced to make peace. By the treaty ending the war, England acknowledged the independence of the United States, relinquished Florida and Minorca to Spain, and the disputed territory west of the Appalachians to the United States.

**Saratoga and  
the French  
Alliance**

**Surrender of  
Cornwallis**

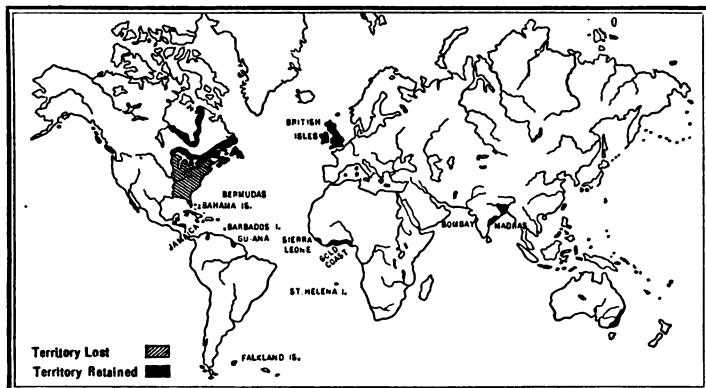
**The Armed  
Neutrality.**

**The Peace of  
Paris (1783)**

England's failure to reconquer her American colonies was a

death blow to the ambitions of George III in the direction of absolute monarchy. Although he continued to reign until 1820, never again was he in a position to control affairs. A political house-cleaning soon followed under the direction of the younger Pitt, who has been described as "not a chip of the old block,

The Younger  
Pitt



THE BRITISH COLONIAL EMPIRE IN 1783, SHOWING TERRITORY LOST BY THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

but the old block itself." He weeded out of the government service many of the corrupt politicians who had disgraced the old Whig rule. Especially important to England was the change in colonial policy wrought by the American revolution. She had learned a hard lesson in the bitter school of experience. No longer did she regard her colonies merely as a source of revenue, but treated them instead as outgrowths of the mother country, entitled to a large degree of self-government. Adam Smith's attack upon the mercantile system needed no stronger indorsement. Events in America were his justification. In 1776 he had proclaimed the death knell of mercantilism, even as the American colonies had proclaimed the death knell of foreign control over a large part of the American continent.



SUGGESTIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR  
FURTHER STUDY

1. Give arguments to prove the decay of the older colonial powers.
2. Describe the work of the Jesuit explorers in North America.
3. Describe in some detail the French colonial system in America.
4. Treat in a similar manner the British colonial system.
5. Describe the empire of the Mughals.
6. Comment upon the statement that the chief importance of the Palatinate War lies in the fact that it was a forecast of the greater struggle to come.
7. Read Southey's poem, "Blenheim."
8. Discuss the question as to whether the "balance of power" theory has harmed more than it has benefited Europe. When was it originated?
9. Explain how the Methuen Treaty gave England a commercial dictatorship over Portugal.
10. Why did the English people prefer George of Hanover to James Edward Stuart for their ruler?
11. How did Frederick II win the designation of "The Great"?
12. Give a longer biographical sketch of Clive.
13. Discuss the terms of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle as a remote cause of the American Revolution.
14. Explain the diplomatic revolution which occurred in Europe prior to the opening of the Seven Years' War.
15. What possessions in India does France still retain?
16. Read the speech made by William Pitt in defence of the colonies.
17. Compare the plan for colonial union which James II attempted to put into operation with that proposed by Franklin at the Albany Congress.
18. Read the Declaration of Independence and point out specific instances of the offences charged therein against George III.
19. Ludlow says, "Paradoxical as it may seem, two things must equally surprise the reader on studying the history of the war of American independence, — the first, that England should ever have considered it possible to succeed in subduing her revolted colonies; the second, that she should not have succeeded in doing so." Interpret this statement.
20. Look up the career of Wilkes and his connection with George III's attempt at personal government.

## COLLATERAL READING

## I. COLONIAL POLICIES.

Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. II, part I, pp. 331 ff. Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, pp. 56-76. Thwaites, *The Colonies*, pp. 45-63. Shepherd, *Latin America*, pp. 19-29. Seignobos, *Contemporary Civilization*, pp. 29-41. Becker, *Beginnings of American People*, Chapter IV.

## II. LOUIS XIV'S WARS.

Robinson and Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 14-49. Grant, *History of Europe*, pp. 500-3, 507-18. Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain*, pp. 617-9, 629-36, 644-8, 652-72.

## III. THE STRUGGLE FOR INDIA.

Seeley, pp. 197-216. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 80-100. Seignobos, pp. 41-7. Beard, *Introduction to English Historians*

(Lyall), pp. 443-51. Hayes, *Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 315-7. Longman, *Frederick the Great*, pp. 185-205. Cross, pp. 720-2, 734-6.

#### IV. THE STRUGGLE FOR AMERICA.

Cross, pp. 722, 729-33. Longman, pp. 167-84. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 101-21. Beard (Mahon), pp. 452-65. Thwaites, pp. 252-7. Hassall, *The Making of the British Empire*, pp. 41-57. Bradley, Canada, pp. 34-65. Hart, *Formation of the Union*, pp. 22-41. Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 312-5.

#### V. THE WARS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 60-79. Priest, *Germany since 1740*, pp. 10-22. Longman, pp. 30-63, 89-166. Guedalla, *Partition of Europe*, pp. 36-67. Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 354-62.

#### VI. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Hart, pp. 43-110. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution*. Fiske, *The American Revolution*. Seeley, pp. 141-160. Ludlow, *The War for American Independence*. Guedalla, pp. 92-112. Becker, Chapter VI. Cross, pp. 738-81. Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 322-40.

#### SOURCE STUDIES

1. How Europe began to extend its commerce over the whole world. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, Vol. I, pp. 90-5.
2. England gains a foothold in India. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-101.
3. The War of the Spanish Succession. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-53.
4. A Spanish colonial official's account of English trade in the West Indies. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-6.
5. India under the later Mughals. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-4.
6. England and Siraj-ud-daula; The Black Hole of Calcutta; Plassey. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-10. Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, pp. 590-3. Colby, *Selections from the Sources of English History*, pp. 245-7.
7. Marquette on the Mississippi. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 116-21.
8. A Frenchman's account of Braddock's defeat. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-7.
9. General Wolfe and the battle at Quebec. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-30; Colby, pp. 247-50; Cheyney, pp. 597-601.
10. Louis XV's view of the Seven Years' War. Robinson and Beard, *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 77-80.
11. Franklin's Albany plan. West, *Source Book in American History*, pp. 358-63.
12. Sugar act. *Ibid.*, pp. 369-72.
13. The stamp act. *Ibid.*, pp. 373-80. Hill, *Liberty Documents*, Chapter XII.
14. The non-importation policy. West, pp. 380-6.
15. Committees of Correspondence. *Ibid.*, pp. 387-94.

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16. Tea riots. *Ibid.*, pp. 394-5. Robinson and Beard, Readings, Vol. I, pp. 130-2.
17. Continental congresses. West, pp. 396-442.
18. Pitt on withdrawing English troops from Boston. Robinson and Beard, Readings, Vol. I, pp. 132-3.
19. Burke's speech on conciliation. Cheyney, pp. 628-31.
20. Policy of taxation. Grenville. Lee, Source Book of English History, pp. 474-5.
21. Pitt on conciliation. *Ibid.*, pp. 475-7. Tuell and Hatch, Readings in English History, pp. 359-63.
22. The right to tax. (Mansfield) Lee, pp. 477-80.
23. Declaration of Independence. West, pp. 359-63. Hill, Chapter XIV.
24. Extracts from the diary of a Tory refugee. Cheyney, pp. 631-3.
25. George III and the American Revolution. *Ibid.*, pp. 634-44. Robinson and Beard, Readings, Vol. I, pp. 133-5.
26. Cornwallis's own report of his surrender. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-7.
27. Peace negotiations. White and Notestein, Source Problems in English History, pp. 283-328.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

1. Show on an outline map the colonial empires of the Dutch, Spanish, French, Portuguese, and English at the beginning of the eighteenth century.
2. Show on an outline map of India the empire of the Mughals and the British and French spheres of influence in the eighteenth century.
3. Show the terms of the Peace of Utrecht, in Europe; in America.
4. Show the strategic points of the French and Indian War in America and the terms of the Peace of Paris (1763).
5. Show the strategic points and principal campaigns of the American Revolution.
6. Show the terms of the Peace of Paris (1783).

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1763, p. 39. Battle of Blenheim, p. xviii. Territorial acquisitions of Louis XIV, p. 13.

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## CHAPTER IV

### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. THE END OF THE OLD ORDER IN FRANCE

#### 40. The Old Order and the Reform Movement in France. —

We have already noted how by the middle of the eighteenth century certain parts of Europe began to be stirred by a reform movement. It has already been pointed out how important was the share of the French writers in spreading throughout Europe these new ideas of how society, business, and government should be readjusted, remodelled, and transformed. The old adage that a prophet is not without honor save in his own country and among his own kindred seems to have been true here, as it was some time before these teachings were applied to conditions at home. French society, the French system of government, French industry, all called loudly for reorganization and reform. This period of French history, before 1789, is usually referred to by French writers as the *ancien régime* or old order. Some light has already been thrown upon the conditions which made this old order vexatious and intolerable.

41. **Class Privileges.** — In the first place there existed in France the most pronounced inequality between classes. French society was about where it was five centuries before when feudalism was at its height and when inequality was the only principle recognized in according to each citizen his position in the social scale. The clergy formed a separate class, as did also the nobility and the bourgeoisie or townspeople. Entrance into the ranks of the nobility was secured by birth or through the payment of large sums of money; the more influential positions in the church were reserved for the younger sons of

The Ancien  
Régime

Origin

The Nobility  
and Clergy

noble families. It therefore came about that these two classes had much in common. It seemed to the average citizen, that the whole government, the very country in which he dwelt, had been specially set apart for the enjoyment and participation of the few. Had not a special place of residence been erected for them at Versailles upon a scale of unprecedented magnificence? Did they not set the fashions in dress and prescribe the rules of etiquette for the rest of society? When it is borne in mind that only 600,000 out of a population of 25,000,000 were members of the privileged orders or classes, — in other words but one in forty, — it is not surprising that the bourgeois viewed the situation as he did. A nobleman was looked upon as a being far removed from the common herd and entitled to a peculiar deference and consideration. And yet the nobles as a class did little to merit this special favor. They lived in luxury and ease, disdaining to take an active part in the development of their country, whether it was along political, agricultural, or commercial lines, preferring rather to while away their time at court in intrigue or gossip, varying the monotony occasionally by fighting duels or indulging in some wild escapade. From the high pedestal upon which they stood they looked down upon and despised the men and women who toiled. They have been aptly compared to the drones in the hive.

Numbers

Social Prestige

**42. Feudal Survivals.** — Feudalism had originally conferred upon this class much of its superiority and power. Although outgrown as a system of government and regarded by the thinking classes as an obstacle to satisfactory progress in trade or agriculture, enough of its privileges survived to make it a strong bulwark for the upper classes. It seems strange that under an absolute monarchy so many of its customs should have persisted, but no effort had been put forth to abolish them when a Henry IV or Louis XIV were gathering into their own hands the reins of authority. For example there was the right to hunt. Not only was this right enjoyed by the king, but every great lord as well retained the privilege of over-

Right to Hunt

running the little farms in his neighborhood in the pursuit of rabbits or deer in season. In such districts the peasant farmer was forbidden to build fences to enclose his fields, or to wage warfare upon some of the animal pests, which, while they furnished amusement for the upper classes, wreaked destruction upon his growing crops. Many of the duties which these peasants had formerly owed their masters or overlords were now discharged by payments of money. It was particularly galling to the peasant to continue indefinitely the payment of money in discharge of such obligations as a certain number of nights spent by their ancestors years before in beating the marshes to prevent the frogs from keeping her ladyship awake; or again to pay the feudal lord a sum of money when a parcel of ground was sold over which he exercised no real control and to which he had contributed nothing either for its maintenance or its improvement. It is estimated that 100,000 nobles owned one half of the land of France, and this ownership carried with it in many cases the enjoyment of privileges of this nature. Altogether the peasant paid to the overlord fourteen per cent of his entire income from his little holding.

Feudal Dues

The Privileged  
and Unprivi-  
leged

The existence of these and numerous other prerogatives divided France into two great classes, the privileged and the unprivileged. The most important privilege enjoyed by the upper classes was that of exemption from taxation. This right was enjoyed by the nobility and clergy and the wealthier bourgeois families. The injustice of the arrangement becomes apparent when we examine the state of French finances, the taxes which were laid, and their method of collection.

**43. Financial Mismanagement.** — The reign of Louis XIV had been marked by extensive military enterprises, each one of which had called for the expenditure of large sums of money. These ventures had not always turned out to the advantage of the French people, and the resulting debt had been correspondingly heavy. Louis XV continued in the same path as his predecessor, recklessly and without foresight plunging France

Louis XV

into wars which not only lost her valuable colonies but increased tremendously the indebtedness of the French nation. At the close of the reign of Louis XIV the national debt was estimated at \$620,000,000; by 1789 nearly \$50,000,000 was paid out annually for interest.

Then too, a great deal of waste and extravagance was apparent in the conduct of the government. Vast sums were spent upon the court, not only for services actually rendered, but in the form of pensions. From seventeen to eighteen thousand people were in residence at Versailles, of whom sixteen thousand were attached to the court and in the pay of the state, performing the numerous services required by its luxury and magnificence. The others were hangers-on, awaiting the day when some act of royal favor should confer upon them the coveted pension. The sums required were enormous. "Madame Lamballe, for instance, was given \$30,000 a year for acting as superintendent of the queen's household. Persons were appointed to offices the very duties of which had been forgotten. One young man was given a salary of \$3600 for an office whose sole duty consisted in signing his name twice a year. The tutors of the king's children received \$33,000 yearly, and the head chambermaid of the queen made \$10,000 off the annual sale of partly burned candles." Instances of this sort might be multiplied. Those which have been cited belong to a period when the meaning of the word "economy" began to be appreciated.

Pensions

**44. The System of Taxation.** — The taxes laid by the government to meet these tremendous demands upon it were of two kinds, direct and indirect. The most important of the former were the *taille*, or land tax, which dated from the time of the Hundred Years' War, the capitation, or poll tax, and the twentieth, the two last named being devices of Louis XIV. Then there was the hated *corvée*, or forced labor upon government works. The *taille*, although roughly defined as a land tax, was not the same throughout the country. In the south it was levied upon

Kinds of Taxes

The Taille



real estate, and property values were assessed and taxed much as they are today. Elsewhere, however, it was a personal tax, estimated and apportioned according to the whim of the tax gatherer. He did not base the levy upon any data, but upon wealth which might or might not exist. The presence of chicken feathers about the peasant's cottage or a smug, well-fed look sufficed to warrant an increase in the amount demanded.

#### Capitation Tax

The capitation tax was apportioned as follows. The entire population of France was grouped into twenty-three classes; the tax rate was fixed for each class, each member of a class paying into the government a fixed sum. The Dauphin belonged to the highest class and was supposed to pay into the treasury 2000 livres<sup>1</sup>; those in the lowest class were not required to pay anything. The practice of exemptions, however, resulted in the collection being restricted to the lower classes, and comparatively little came in from the nobles. This form of taxation called for from twenty to fifty per cent of the peasant's income.

#### Exemptions

#### The Gabelle

The *gabelle*, or tax upon salt, was perhaps the most notorious of the taxing devices of the central government. The sale of salt was a government monopoly. Every family was obliged to buy seven pounds of salt a year for every one of its members over seven years old. There was no question as to whether this amount was needed. What made the *gabelle* still more odious was that the price of salt varied in the different provinces, and for no apparent reason. In the neighborhood of Paris in the north the people were paying at the rate of 60 livres for the same quantity which in Brittany was selling at from two to three livres. Severe penalties were imposed upon those who were found guilty of infringements of the law.

One form of indirect taxes was the duties laid upon food products, as, for example, when they were shipped from one province to another, or when they were brought into certain

<sup>1</sup> The livre was about the equivalent of the franc. The latter came into use at the period of the Revolution. 81 livres were equivalent to 80 francs.

cities. In the Middle Ages France had been a collection of semi-independent provinces. These boundary lines were still retained for purposes of taxation and administration. The burdensome nature of many of the customs duties may be illustrated by a single instance. Wine was taxed at the moment of manufacture; when it was sold; from thirty-five to forty times on the road from Languedoc to Paris; at the entrance to the city; and finally when sold by the retailer to the consumer. Wine worth 150 francs at the place of production paid twenty-two francs in customs duties by the time it reached Paris. To cap the climax the law prescribed just how much wine should be consumed by each family, and if more was drunk the extra amount was subjected to a special tax.

**The Customs  
Duties**

To these taxes laid by the authority of the central government should be added the tithe which was paid to the church and the many feudal dues which bore so heavily on the country districts. The noble took toll at the wine press, at the mill, and often at the oven. In some cases these feudal privileges were all that remained to him of his former estate and power.

**The Tithe**

The system, or absence of it, which marked the collection of these taxes made the burden so much the harder to bear. Since 1697 the indirect taxes had been farmed out to contractors for terms of six years. These contractors paid a fixed sum into the treasury and were expected to enrich themselves by grinding larger amounts out of the peasants. The land tax was enforced "in such a manner as to discourage land improvement." In cases where the taxes were not farmed out, their assessment and collection were under the supervision of the intendant, whose power "to exempt, change, add, or diminish" made the burden fall unequally upon the people. Each parish was supposed to collect its share of the taxes, and, as the collectors were personally made liable for the amounts to be collected, the service became "the despair and almost the ruin of those obliged to perform it."

**System of  
Collection**

Speculation  
in Grain

**45. Economic Burdens.** — The existence of customs lines between provinces by which duties were collected on the movement of food and raw materials from one part of France to the other, the practice of monopolizing and speculating in the very necessities of life, such as grain, and the organization of industry on mediaeval lines (sec. 14), with the pernicious system just described, placed the French people at a tremendous disadvantage economically. The customs barriers prevented the inhabitants of a province in which the crop was light from profiting by the plentiful supply of their next-door neighbors, and for the same reason these neighbors were denied the market which was rightfully theirs. Add to this the persistent efforts to corner the wheat and grain market to which royalty itself was too often a party, and the want and starvation which were so common are easily explained.

The Provinces

**46. Organization of the Government.** — Many of the conditions already described were aggravated by the entire absence of system in the conduct of the government. There was not only an utter indifference to the ordinary rules of bookkeeping in the administration of the finances, but there were also a great number of local privileges and customs which had been allowed to remain when the separate kingdoms and principalities had been consolidated and welded together to form the French nation. Although in theory the monarch's slightest wish had all the force of law and he knew no restraint, in practice he had allowed the old provincial lines to be maintained, in many cases for purposes of administration, thus creating a number of conflicting local privileges and powers. A great deal of confusion was the result. Provinces retained in some cases their peculiar systems of weights and measures and their local usages. This often gave rise to a narrow provincial spirit. The people of Artois, for example, requested that they be governed by their own people, and the inhabitants of Dauphiné were bold enough to proclaim that "they were in the kingdom but not a part of it." The actual administrative units

were cumbersome and complicated, and there was altogether wanting any true administrative unity.

**47. The Administration of Justice.** — Several defects were apparent in the administration of justice. The judges of the courts either purchased these positions from the king or had inherited them. This practice was not confined, however, merely to the administration of justice, but was true of all administrative offices, even extending into the army. The jurisdiction of one court often overlapped that of another — a further illustration of the persistence or survival of outgrown practices from feudal times. Those courts which were known as *parlements* seem to have exercised considerable power and influence in the years immediately preceding the Revolution, as will appear later. There were thirteen of them, and they had both original and appellate jurisdiction within their respective districts, which were unequal in size. The criminal laws of the time retained all the ferocity and savagery which marked primitive justice. A violation of the game laws, which today would involve a penalty of 25 francs, was punished by life sentence to the galleys.

The Courts

The arbitrary character of the government is best illustrated in the use of *lettres de cachet*, or letters of the seal. These were blank warrants which made it possible for the king or any one of his agents to arrest and imprison at his pleasure in such state fortresses as the Bastille any one of his subjects who had incurred his displeasure. The victim was often in entire ignorance of the cause of his arrest, and, as he was given no hearing, languished in captivity until such time as it pleased those in authority to release him. These orders were often granted to fathers to restrain their wayward sons or to favorites to wreak vengeance upon their enemies. Dickens, in his *Tale of Two Cities*, illustrates their use in the imprisonment of Dr. Manette.

Lettres de Cachet

**48. Condition of the Common People.** — The full crushing weight of these burdens and this system rested upon the peasants who probably comprised nearly nine tenths of the popula-

The Peasant

tion. Their misery was still further increased by the nefarious practice of grain speculation, to which reference has already been made, and by a series of short harvests and consequent famines which marked the close of the century. If the peasant's little crop by any chance proved a failure, starvation and death stared him in the face, as the tax collector was ever present and knew no mercy. In some parts of France his lot was not much above that of his cattle. Men, women, and children, battling against such odds in the struggle for existence, became gray and prematurely old and found an early grave.

With all this misery it is probably true that the people of France as a whole were much more prosperous than were their neighbors. Although the peasant was "the pack mule of the state" (to quote Cardinal Richelieu), in many ways, taking the French peasant class as a whole, his lot was far superior to that of the peasant elsewhere, save in England, where feudalism had long since disappeared. The average of intelligence was also higher in France than elsewhere on the continent, even among the working classes. Then, too, there was a larger, a more prosperous, and a more intelligent middle class to appreciate and to give ear to the attacks of the philosophers and economists upon the old outgrown system just described. It was galling in the extreme for these self-respecting citizens to accord to the nobility and clergy a deference and consideration which they were doing nothing to deserve, or rather everything to forfeit, and to realize that often a mere accident of birth had fixed an impassable gulf between them and their more fortunate brethren.

**49. Agitation under Louis XV.** — The general mismanagement and indifference which marked the reign of Louis XV made these defects in the old order more glaring and apparent and served to increase the burden which was already becoming intolerable. Louis XV seems to have had an insight into the future, if the remark attributed to him be true, "After me the Deluge." Upon his shoulders should rest much of the

responsibility for the crisis which his successor faced on his accession to the throne in 1774. As the reign of Louis XV drew near its close the attacks of the writers became more bitter, and as a result a few earnest, conscientious administrators were to be found striving to correct some of these evils. Perhaps the book which exercised the greatest influence in stirring the bourgeoisie to action was

Rousseau's *Social Contract*, in which he set forth his theory that what the times demanded was a return to the natural state of man, where no class distinctions were known and where government allowed the individual the freest possible exercise of his individual aptitudes and talents. The application of this idea to business and industry gave rise to the group of economists who, while they urged the greatest possible development of

the natural resources of the country, demanded that the government should cease to regulate industry and burden the worker. These economists were known as physiocrats, and their attitude was characterized as the *laissez-faire* or "hands-off" theory of the relation of government to business and industry.

**50. Louis XVI and his Efforts at Reform.** — In the midst of this ferment of ideas Louis XVI ascended the throne. He was a good-natured, well-meaning monarch. He lacked, however, the aggressiveness and initiative which the times demanded. He allowed himself to be talked first into one way of handling a



LOUIS XVI, KING OF FRANCE

Rousseau's  
Social Contract

The  
Physiocrats

Character of  
Louis XVI

problem and then into another. The man who had his ear for the moment was master of the situation. Unfortunately, time and again the influence of the queen was thrown into the scales to thwart and crush many of the reforms which were launched in the early years of the reign. Louis XVI was not the cynical, indifferent ruler that his predecessor had been, but he was a person of such mediocre talents and of such inconstancy of purpose that, instead of being the man of the hour, he proved to be a mere creature of circumstances, buffeted and tossed about with every breeze of fortune.

**Turgot and  
his Reforms**

It was the sad state of the finances which brought matters to a climax. Louis XVI faced national bankruptcy. It augured well for the future, that in this dilemma he called to his aid the intendant Turgot, who had been laboring on a smaller scale in the province of Limousin to bring order and system out of the chaos and confusion which were characteristic of the time. Turgot was saturated with the new ideas, and immediately upon taking office threw himself heart and soul into the task of removing abuses and systematizing the financial administration. He counselled economy and sought to realize it by cutting down many of the pensions and useless expenditures connected with the court. He was not content to remove these, but set himself the more difficult task of gradually evolving a better taxing system. He abolished the *corvée* and removed the restrictions placed by the zealous merchants and artisans upon entrance into the guilds, by which they had built up vexatious monopolies (sec. 16). He also did much to prevent the cornering of grain and to make possible its free movement from province to province and its ready sale. At every point, however, he met with opposition, particularly from the court and the queen. His enemies easily secured the king's ear and compassed his downfall. With his retirement from office went the last hope of extricating France from her difficulties. This was in May, 1776. The spirit which actuated all that he did stands out clearly in his letter to the king. "My desire, Sire,

**Nature of  
his Reforms**

is that you may come to believe that I have looked upon the dark side and have shown you dangers which do not exist. I hope that time will not justify me."

### 51. Necker and the Summoning of the States General.—

After this matters went from bad to worse. Most of Turgot's work was undone. One of his opponents, the banker Necker, was soon called in to take his place and to avert if possible the threatened bankruptcy. Skilled and successful though he had been in accumulating a fortune for himself, Necker had no plan to propose which could effect a permanent reform. He was successful in bolstering up and maintaining French credit while in office,



NECKER

and saw the need of keeping the expenditures in harmony with the receipts. Seeing his influence gradually slipping away, he turned to the people for support, publishing for their benefit a statement of the exact financial condition of the country. This was in the form of a balance sheet which showed clearly the tremendous gulf which separated receipts and expenditures. Its publication gave the court a great shock and the king immediately demanded his resignation. It also created a great stir throughout the country, as the suspicions of the masses were now confirmed that "the court indeed was the sepulchre of the nation."

Necker's Balance Sheet

Calonne, who was better fitted to shine at court functions than to solve a problem of such magnitude, was finally called to the king's assistance. Instead of profiting by the revelations of his predecessor as to the true state of affairs, he threw to the winds all regard for economy and plunged the country still deeper into the abyss of debt. He reasoned that the financial soundness of a nation was in direct ratio

Calonne



to its borrowing power and dependent thereon and that if he could make a sufficient display of securing funds, this would react upon the country to maintain its credit and preserve its integrity. He borrowed right and left and issued vast amounts of paper currency. In spite, however, of his valiant show he soon reached the end of his resources and of those of the country and was forced to fall back upon some of the ideas of Turgot. To sanction these proposals he suggested to the king the calling of an Assembly of the Notables. The notables were representatives of the nobility who had been summoned from time to time to consult with the king on measures of importance which affected their order. Calonne thought that if he placed before this body the dire needs of the country he could persuade them to surrender some of their cherished privileges and to agree to forms of taxation which would remedy matters. He soon saw his delusion. This body not only opposed his measures but brought about his downfall.

Assembly of  
the Notables

Agitation for  
Meeting of the  
States General

This step of Calonne's, however, brought with it consequences of greater significance. For some time now public opinion had been making itself felt even among French officialdom. Its spokesmen were to be found in the various *parlements* of the country. These began to take a keen interest in developments at the capital and to question the power of a single man or group of men to deal with the situation. A meeting of the States General, they argued, was needed to compass any permanent measure of reform. This demand was now voiced by the very body called to face the crisis, the Assembly of the Notables. Disgusted with their obstinacy and failure to sanction the decrees proposed, the king dismissed them and sought to put certain portions of Calonne's schemes into operation on his own initiative and that of his new minister. When, however, he tried to get the decrees registered by the *Parlement* of Paris, in order to give them authority with the people, this body refused to register them and insisted that the States General was the only body competent to enact such measures. Although the king

The King and  
the Parlement  
of Paris

vented his disappointment on the judges and, by the one method left open to him in such cases, proclaimed the validity of his edicts, he yielded to the demand now so insistent and coming from so many quarters. He recalled Necker and called for a meeting of the States General. This decision was reached in the summer of 1788. The meeting was called for May, 1789. It was a most momentous step. The absolutist government of France had capitulated. It had confessed its weakness and impotency and was now stepping aside to allow the people to share in the management of its affairs.

Recall of  
Necker

Great interest was manifested throughout France in the meeting of this body. It had not met since 1614 and little was known of its organization, its powers, or its functions. A study was made of these under the direction of the king and his minister in order that certain perplexing questions which were immediately forthcoming might be settled. There was the question of the election of delegates. How were they to be chosen and by whom? Each order was entitled to representation, but the king and his minister were confronted by the question as to how many delegates were to be allowed to the third estate, or bourgeoisie. The first of these questions, as to who should participate in the choice of delegates, was settled in the interest of the bourgeoisie rather than that of the lower classes. A property qualification was required for delegates to the third estate, and their choice was restricted entirely to property owners. In apportioning representatives among the three orders, it was decided that the third estate should be entitled to as many delegates as the other two orders together. So anxious were the people of the various provinces to get their grievances before this body that everywhere elaborate instructions were drawn up for their representatives containing detailed statements of conditions which demanded immediate attention. These were known as *cahiers* and furnish us with much of our information about the *ancien régime*.

Problem  
of Selecting  
Members

Apportionment  
of Members

This assembly, then, not only marked the capitulation of

**The Beginning  
of a Revolution**

absolutism in France but voiced essentially, so far as the masses were concerned, the demands of the middle classes alone. Their representatives were coming together, not, as the king perhaps imagined, merely to patch up a financial crisis which had got beyond his control, but to propose far-reaching schemes of reform which should transform France and rebuild it on new lines. The meeting of the States General, therefore, has been looked upon as marking the true beginning of the French Revolution.

**Question of  
Voting**

**52. Formation of the National Constituent Assembly.** — Before the assembly could set itself to the task of overthrowing the old order or of correcting its abuses, much work of a preliminary character had to be accomplished. A very serious question arose at the outset as to voting. It had been the custom in the old days to vote by order, that is, to give each estate one vote in the final decision of all questions brought before them. In this way the clergy and nobles acting in common, as was usually the case, could outvote the bourgeoisie, however numerous they might be. This ancient practice did not satisfy the third estate on this occasion. They demanded that the three estates should act as one body, each delegate casting a vote, and refused to organize for the business in hand until this question was settled. A deadlock ensued. The third estate finally proclaimed themselves the assembly of the French nation, invited the other orders to join them, and on June 17th formally adopted the name National Assembly. The deadlock had already lasted more than a month and the struggle was at its height. Thus far the king had been unwilling to look the situation squarely in the face and had hesitated as to what steps he ought to take. His disapproval of the action of the third estate was shared by the court, who finally persuaded him to call a royal session and throw the weight of his authority in favor of the old custom. On the morning of the 20th of June, when the third estate gathered for a session at their usual meeting place, they found the hall closed and the carpenters at

**The National  
Assembly**

work preparing for a royal sitting. This was a signal for a more decided step. Adjourning to a tennis court near by, they proceeded to take a solemn oath that they would stand together and not adjourn until they had given France a constitution. Their action recalls that of the Long Parliament over a hundred

**The Tennis  
Court Oath**



THE TENNIS COURT OATH

"Strange sight is this in the Rue St. Francois, Vieux Versailles! . . . The Oath is pronounced aloud of President Bailly. Six hundred right-hands rise with President Bailly's, to take God above to witness that they will not separate for man below, but will meet in all places, under all circumstances, wheresoever two or three can get together, till they have made the Constitution." — Carlyle.

years before, one of whose first steps was to pass a resolution that they would not be adjourned or dissolved without their own consent. This step meant much more in the case of the National Assembly than in that of the Long Parliament. The delegates of the bourgeoisie had by their action adopted a definite

programme. They had resolved themselves into a Constitutional Convention and for this reason have been called by historians the National-Constituent Assembly. They had not only struck a blow at the king's power, but had committed themselves definitely to the task of remodelling France, thereby inaugurating a new era in its development.



MIRABEAU

**Attitude of  
Mirabeau**

Mirabeau was forty years old at the outbreak of the French Revolution. He had already served on a secret mission to Prussia and had published a four-volume work on the Prussian monarchy under Frederick the Great. His wisdom and foresight made him a leader in the National Assembly, and he served as its president for two weeks in 1791. Weakened by dissipation he died early that year, carrying to his dying day the brilliance which had distinguished him, as shown by his last utterances, "I carry with me the ruin of the monarchy. After my death factions will dispute about the fragments."

Three days later the States General met in royal session. After the king had read a carefully prepared speech in which he chided the third estate for their stubbornness, he ordered the deputies to disperse and meet by orders as had been the custom. Undismayed by these words, the members of the third estate and several of the clergy kept their seats, and amid an ominous silence the Marquis de Mirabeau arose and in thundering tones proclaimed the rights of the Assembly, concluding with the significant words, "We are here by the will of the people, and we will only quit at the point of the bayonet." The king was not prepared to press his demand, and as the third estate persisted in its attitude, he weakly ordered the other two estates to join them. There had already been defections from their

ranks, especially among the clergy, as the curés had all along sympathized heart and soul with the attitude of the third estate.

**53. Interference of Paris: Fall of the Bastille.** — Stirred to action by the hostile court, Louis XVI now began to gather troops, probably with the idea of overawing the Assembly or of dispersing it, and the situation began to be very tense. The influence of the city of Paris was now thrown into the scale. The population had long been dependent for a living upon their nearness to the court at Versailles, but they had little sympathy with its attitude of superiority and indifference to the country at large. A severe winter and a scarcity of food had given rise to disorder and discontent here as in other parts of the country. Every one had been following closely the events at Versailles and had been looking to the States General to improve conditions. Two months had now passed without seeing any results accomplished, and everything pointed to the speedy termination of the proceedings at the point of the bayonet.

**Attitude of Paris**

The disappointment everywhere apparent began to manifest itself in acts of disorder. The regiments of soldiers stationed in the city sympathized with the people, and when Louis XVI dismissed Necker, the minister on whom they had pinned all their hopes (July 11th), the storm burst. On the 12th and 13th armed men of the lower classes appeared in the different parts of the city, and there was a general call to arms and a ransacking of shops, storehouses, and arsenals in the search for weapons. The bourgeois element in the city, who felt that their own future hinged upon the fate of their representatives at Versailles, now formed themselves into companies for the protection of their persons and property against the dual danger of the king and the court on the one hand and of the disorderly mob element on the other. The government of Paris was overthrown and placed in the hands of those men who had been selected to choose the city representatives to the third estate. Bailly, one of the deputies, was elected mayor and La Fayette was made commander of the new military force, now known as the National Guard (July 17). Meanwhile, on the 14th, the Parisian populace, assisted by the

**Dismissal of Necker**

**The National Guard**

**La Fayette**

**Fall of the  
Bastille**

soldiers, stormed and captured the royal fortress commanding the city and known as the Bastille, released the prisoners confined there, and razed the structure to the ground. By this act public opinion, which had already been making itself heard,

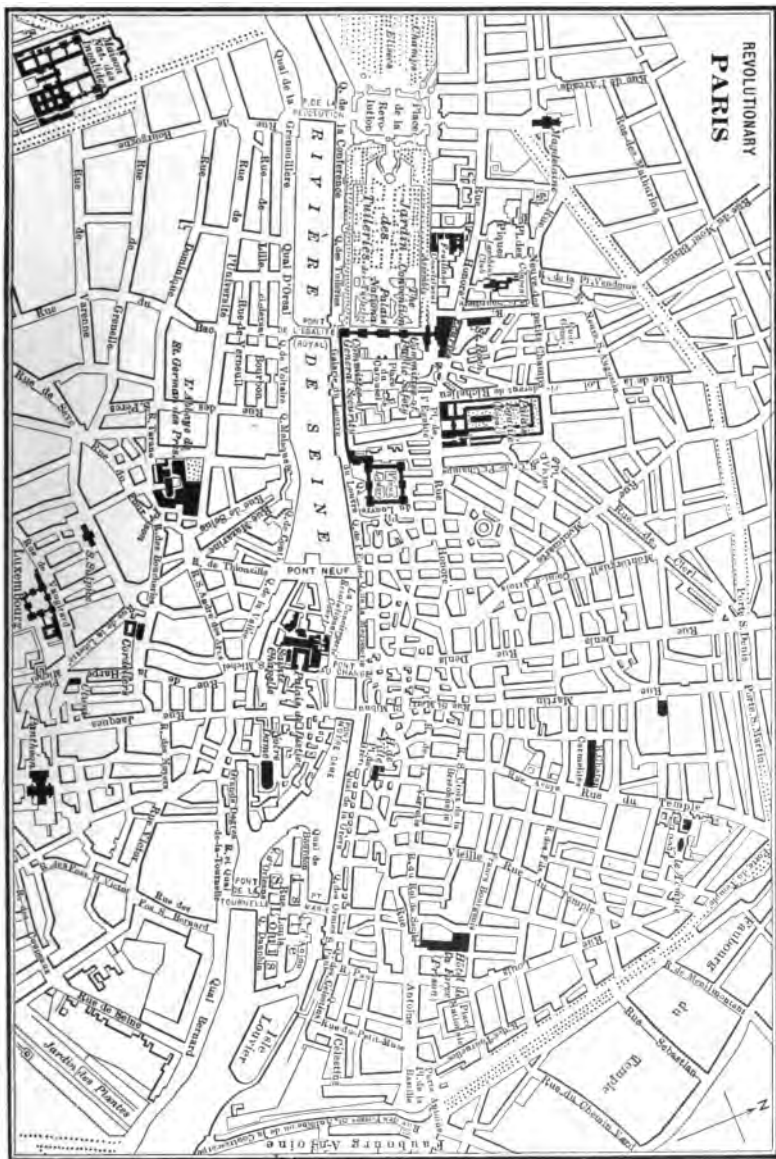


DEMOLITION OF THE BASTILLE

expressed itself in no uncertain language. The Bastille was everywhere looked upon as the symbol of absolutism and oppression, and its fall assured the representatives of the third estate that they were not standing alone in their opposition to king and court.

**Disorder in  
the Provinces**

The news of the fall of the Bastille was everywhere greeted with the wildest enthusiasm. The people in the provinces followed the example of Paris and attacked the local symbols of





oppression — in some cases the chateaux of the lords, in others, the custom-houses — and spread terror and consternation throughout the country. National Guards were organized to preserve order. Wherever the city governments showed themselves inefficient or unsympathetic with the movement, they were reorganized and placed in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The nobles now began to leave the country, fearing that the sudden turn of affairs might precipitate greater disorders. When the news of the fall of the Bastille was communicated to the king, he exclaimed, "Why, this is a revolt!" "No, your Majesty," was the reply, "it is revolution." The city of Paris had indeed saved the situation and made possible the revolution by saving the Assembly from possible dissolution and enabling it to undertake with boldness the work to which it had already committed itself.

**The Abolition  
of Privilege**

**54. The End of the Old Order.** — The immediate effect of these events upon the National Assembly was the abolition of privilege. The news of the various uprisings in the provinces convinced some of the members that the time had arrived for some action on their part which would relieve the situation. On the night of the 4th of August the Viscount de Noailles declared that, as the rights of the nobles, "odious survivals of feudalism," were primarily responsible for the crisis, there was but one remedy which would apply to the situation and that was their entire abolition. His proposal met with an immediate response. In a delirium of enthusiasm, in a night session lasting far into the early morning hours, the deputies voted the suppression of all feudal privileges, feudal justice, the right to hunt, the feudal dues, the restrictions imposed by the guilds; in short they swept away every barrier which made for social inequality. They had in reality wrought in six hours a great social revolution. The very haste with which they accomplished this result gave rise to much distress and disorder. The severing in one night of ties which had bound the whole social structure together for generations was an act so violent in its disrupt-

ing power that it encouraged further outbursts of violence and acts of reprisal.

**55. Removal of the Government to Paris.** — The king's actions, or failure to act, were still grounds for suspicion and gave rise to the greatest uncertainty. October had come, and although the decrees just described had received the royal sanction, they had not been promulgated, nor had any relief measures been enacted to meet the financial crisis. Additional troops had arrived at Versailles, and the rumor had gone forth that at a banquet tendered to some of their number, speeches had been delivered which were hostile to the Assembly. It was also asserted that the new revolutionary tricolor had been trampled under foot and the white cockade of the Bourbons had been substituted. These conditions, combined with a continued scarcity

of bread, aroused the Paris mob anew to an expression of its power. On the 5th of October a crowd of from seven to eight thousand women, armed with a variety of weapons and dragging cannon, set out on the road to Versailles, demanding bread. They looked to the government — as has been so often the case before and since — to satisfy their physical needs, insisting that the king and queen were "the baker and the baker's wife" and their son, "the little cook boy." La Fayette was advised of the movement and fearing for the safety of the royal family, placed himself at the head of the National Guard and followed them.



THE BED OF MARIE ANTOINETTE

The gorgeousness of the furnishings of Versailles is illustrated by this picture of the bed of Marie Antoinette.

**March of  
the Women  
to Versailles**

The mob invaded the palace and encamped there over night, and in the morning some of their number burst into the queen's apartments, killing members of her bodyguard. The queen had been warned in t'me, however, and escaped their wrath. La



REMOVAL OF THE KING AND QUEEN TO PARIS

Fayette, by persuading the king to show himself on a balcony, finally succeeded in calming their excited passions, and the king consented to remove to Paris, where the starving city could have the benefit of "baker and little cook boy." Still surrounded by the mob, the royal family slowly made their way by coach to Paris, and about two weeks later, on the 19th of October, the Assembly followed them. The Paris mob had won a great victory in that they now had both king and Assembly at their

mercy. From the very outset Paris had been the centre of radical journalistic activity, and its citizens had tried by various means to bring influence to bear upon the Assembly, packing the galleries and shouting their approval or disapproval of the proposals under discussion. The distance, however, which separated the capital from the city had made it somewhat difficult for them to sway the Assembly by these means. From this time forward it was comparatively easy to make the deputies feel the pressure of public opinion as represented by the people of Paris. Had this public opinion been moulded by the moderate or conservative elements, some of its results might not have been so disastrous, but the radical leaders were rapidly getting the upper hand and constituting themselves on every occasion the spokesmen of the nation. "Let the Assembly look out for itself," said one of them, "we will set fire to Paris and deluge it in blood rather than be deprived of our rights."

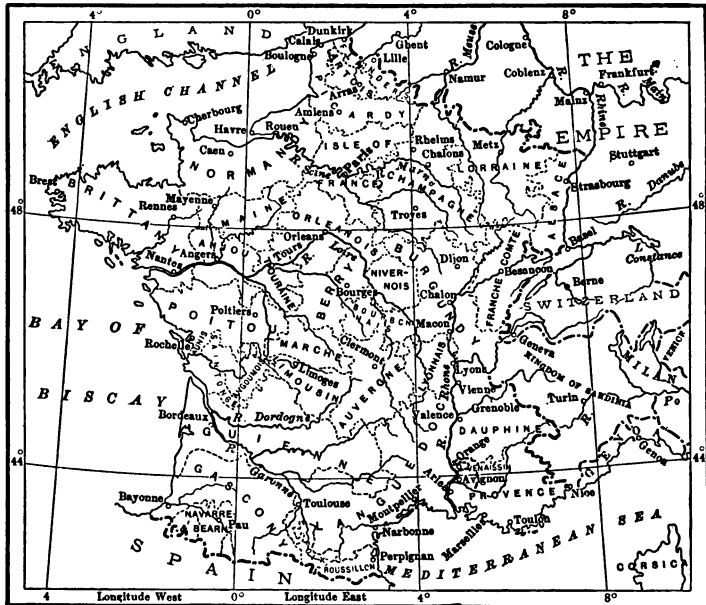
The abolition of privilege completed, the Assembly began to wrestle with the other problems before them. To relieve the financial pressure, the church lands were confiscated and large quantities of paper money, or *assignats*, were issued upon these as security. The Assembly was not at all careful to place about the issue the safeguards demanded in such cases, and it was not long before the *assignats* began to fall in value. Such an arrangement, therefore, was far from permanent. The financial problem still called loudly for a satisfactory solution.

**56. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Constitution of 1791.** — The task of drawing up a constitution for the country was one which required much thought and labor. The most notable portion of the document, when completed, was the preamble, which was known as the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Under the influence of our American Revolution the Assembly set forth for the first time in clear-cut fashion the rights which are generally accepted today as the basis of every free government. These principles have been called the "Evangel of Modern Times" and maintain as the essential rights of man,

Issue of  
Assignats

Influence of  
the American  
Revolution

liberty, private property, personal security, and resistance to oppression. The document calls to mind many of the provisions in the American Bill of Rights — the first ten amendments to our Constitution.



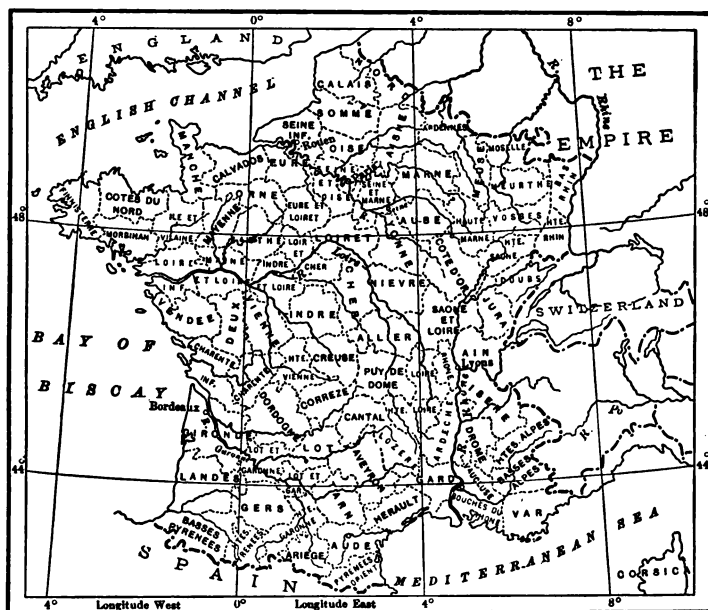
FRANCE IN 1789, SHOWING THE PROVINCES

The constitution itself failed to recognize one of the most important of these rights, that of absolute equality between citizens, as the right to share in the government rested upon a property qualification, and citizens were classified either as "active" or "passive," according to the power which was conferred upon them to share in the government. Even the active citizens did not participate directly in the elections but chose electors to act for them. These in turn must satisfy still higher qualifications as to fortune. A legislative assembly was created into whose hands was intrusted the main business of governing

"Active" and  
"Passive"  
Citizens

Legislative  
Assembly

the country. The king was shorn of most of his power, enjoying only a suspensive veto over the laws passed by the legislature. He was to be known as King of the French instead of King of France and was to be assisted in governing by a group of min- **Ministry**



FRANCE IN 1791, SHOWING THE DEPARTMENTS

isters. These, like the English cabinet, could not be chosen from the members of the Assembly. The judges were to be elected instead of receiving their offices by purchase or through birth as in the old days. For purposes of local administration France was systematically divided into departments, these again into districts, the districts into cantons, and the cantons into communes. Each of these divisions elected its officials and each was more or less of a law unto itself, i.e., a separate and distinct organization. In this way was created a decentralized system of administration in sharp contrast to the highly centralized

**Local  
Government**

bureaucratic monarchy. The entire taxing system was remodelled and a more equitable system established.

The constitution was lamentably weak. The National Assembly had gone to extremes in its separation of the executive and law-making departments of the government and had



THE CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY

The clergy are represented as affixing their signatures to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

**Weaknesses  
of the  
Constitution**

reduced royalty to a mere figure-head. Its failure to recognize the principle of manhood suffrage excited the wrath of the lower classes and prepared the way for the overthrow at the hands of the mob element of this essentially bourgeois government.

**57. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the Flight of the King.** — In July, 1790, the National Assembly drew up a document, known as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which thoroughly reorganized the church. The same principles were applied to the church as to the civil government, reducing the

number of officials and providing for their election at the hands of qualified electors. These arrangements, in providing for a French church almost independent of Rome, dealt a severe blow at the Pope.

**Nature of  
the Civil  
Constitution**

Louis XVI was too good a Catholic not to be shocked at these changes. He gave his consent to the new plan, but unwillingly. The situation was daily becoming more and more intolerable, and he began to make preparations to leave the country and bring force to bear from the outside upon his rebellious subjects. He looked to his brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold of Austria, to extricate him from his dilemma, and the latter had already begun to mobilize troops near the French frontier. Mirabeau was not entirely pleased with the trend of affairs. He counted much upon the establishment of a governmental system similar to that in England, but the Assembly had rejected one of his most cherished projects, that of a cabinet to coöperate with the king. He had counselled the king to leave Paris, take refuge in one of the provinces, and there rouse the people against the capital, which was rapidly dominating the work of the Assembly. The king, however, rejected this advice. Instead he made preparations to cross the frontier and bring foreign troops into France to restore his vanished power. This was in June, 1791. Mirabeau had died the preceding April and the Assembly was now preparing to put its work into final shape. Such an attempt to free himself from the difficulties which he faced was a clear indication of the king's real attitude toward the work which had been accomplished. His success would probably nullify all the work of the Assembly; his failure could only spell ruin for the House of Bourbon. In disguise, the royal family made its way as far as the little town of Varennes, only a few miles from the frontier, but the king had been recognized en route as he stopped for a change of horses and could proceed no further. Escorted by a committee of the Assembly the royal family was brought back to Paris. From this time forth they were virtually prisoners; by this act the

**Opposition  
of the King**

**Flight to  
Varennes**



monarch had started the revolution upon a new series of developments which were to alter its entire character. On September 3d the king signed the final revision of the Constitution.

The Revolution  
Completed

When the Assembly adjourned on September 30, 1791, it could look back upon a long list of accomplishments. It had virtually brought to an end the *ancien régime*, had dealt the absolute monarchy its death blow, and had organized a comparatively simple administrative machine to replace the cumbersome system which had given rise to so much dissatisfaction and abuse of power. Apparently, the revolution was complete.

#### SUGGESTIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Compare the social, political, and religious conditions in England and France at the opening of the French Revolution.
2. Compare the attitude of the French people toward *lettres-de-cachet* with the feeling in America against Writs of Assistance.
3. Summarize the suggestions for reforms made in the *cahiers*.
4. Explain the process by which the Estates General became the National Assembly.
5. Give a characterization of Louis XVI; Marie Antoinette; Mirabeau; La Fayette; Necker.
6. Why did the destruction of the Bastille mark the beginning of a new era?
7. Compare the Declaration of the Rights of Man with the English Bill of Rights.
8. Compare the constitution of the reformed French monarchy with that of England at the same time.
9. Sum up the changes effected by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.
10. Distinguish between the *assignats* and the *mandats*.

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1. The king and the administration, pp. 4-10.
2. Louis XVI and his court, pp. 11-24.
3. The clergy, pp. 25-39.
4. The nobility, pp. 70-82.
5. The law courts, pp. 103-118.
6. Taxation, pp. 207-29.
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1. Voltaire. Lowell, pp. 51-69. Johnston, pp. 16-18, 20-1. Seignobos, pp. 68-70. Mallet, pp. 32-3. Plunket, pp. 65-8.
2. Montesquieu. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 175-6. Mallet, pp. 31-2.
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4. The encyclopaedists. Lowell, pp. 243-60. Seignobos, pp. 72-73. Mallet, pp. 33-6.
5. Louis XVI. Belloc, *The French Revolution*, pp. 41-48. Johnston, pp. 35-6.
6. Marie Antoinette. Belloc, pp. 48-56. Johnston, pp. 36-7.
7. Mirabeau. Belloc, pp. 56-63. Johnston, pp. 50, 55, 58-59, 89, 95, 98-100, 114-5. Morris, pp. 48-9. Stephens, pp. 73-6, 98-9. Mallet, pp. 118-28.
8. La Fayette. Belloc, pp. 64-7. Johnston, pp. 71-4. Mallet, pp. 116-8.
9. Turgot. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 218-22. Rose, pp. 31-33.
10. Necker. Johnston, pp. 37-8, 46-59. Mallet, pp. 46-47, 114-5.
11. Calonne. Johnston, pp. 37-43. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 222-5.

## III. THE STATES GENERAL.

Johnston, pp. 35-55. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 224-33. Seignobos, pp. 110-13. Rose, pp. 30-8. Belloc, pp. 89-102. Mathews, pp. 106-20.

## IV. BEGINNINGS OF VIOLENCE.

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## V. THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND ITS REFORMS.

Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 237-47. Johnston, pp. 89-104. Belloc, pp. 107-12. Mallet, pp. 71-97. Seignobos, pp. 117-126. Jeffery, pp. 9-14. Mathews, pp. 138-65. Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 479-86.

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2. Protests of a French court against *lettres-de-cachet*. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-9.
3. Condition of the French people at the opening of the revolution. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-34. Library of Original Sources, Vol. VII, pp. 374-90.
4. Turgot on accepting office. *Ibid.*, pp. 390-4.
5. Typical *cahiers*. *Ibid.*, pp. 398-411. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 248-51.

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6. Opening of the Estates General. *Ibid.*, pp. 251-2.
7. The tennis-court oath. Fling, Source Problems on the French Revolution, pp. 3-63.
8. The meeting of the National Assembly. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-159. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 252-5.
9. What is the third estate? (Sieyes) Original Sources, Vol. VII, pp. 294-8.
10. The insurrection of October, 1789. Fling, pp. 163-248.
11. Mirabeau's advice to the king. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 262-7. Original Sources, Vol. VII, pp. 417-28.
12. The decree abolishing the Feudal System. *Ibid.*, pp. 411-4. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 256-9.
13. Declaration of the rights of man. *Ibid.*, pp. 260-2. Original Sources, Vol. VII, pp. 415-7.
14. Civil constitution of the clergy. Robinson and Beard, Vol. I, pp. 273-7.
15. The assembly reviews its work. *Ibid.*, pp. 268-73.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

1. On an outline map of France show the division into provinces in 1789; the region of the great salt tax; the regions of the Roman and of the Feudal Law. 2. Draw a plan of the city of Paris to illustrate the events of the Revolution mentioned in the chapter. 3. Draw a map to illustrate the changes made by the National Assembly. 4. On an outline map of Europe show the territorial arrangements at the opening of the French Revolution.

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## CHAPTER V

### THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE STRUGGLE WITH EUROPE

**58. Decline of the Monarchy.** — Already symptoms were not lacking that the days of the monarchy in France were numbered. Although the National Assembly had shown itself no friend of democracy in the modern sense, on the other hand, the conduct of king and court had done much to bring into disrepute the monarchic idea, even among its friends and admirers. His attempt to flee the country, abandoning by so doing many of his friends and supporters to the fury and uncertainties of possible foreign war and of domestic violence, forfeited much of the respect and loyalty which still dominated so many of his subjects. Epithets such as “Beast!” “Coward!” and the like, were on the lips of thousands of Frenchmen. The queen also came in for a large amount of abuse, as she was looked upon as the real author of the plot.

Effect of the  
Attempted  
Flight of the  
King

Massacre of the  
Champ de Mars

Scarcely a month had passed after this event before there was a clear indication of the rising tide in favor of the complete overthrow of the monarchy. This took the form of a meeting of protest on the Champ de Mars, July 17, 1791, for the signature of a petition against the continuance of the monarchy. The National Guard was called out to maintain order; the troops came to blows with the mob; and several lives were lost. The supporters of the movement and all friends of democracy had received a setback. The impression which remained among the masses was one of bitterness towards the Assembly and the monarchy. The bourgeoisie were more than ever convinced by the actions of the mob upon this occasion

that their own safety could only be secured by maintaining the existing arrangements.

The outbreak of foreign war changed everything. Ever since the fall of the Bastille the nobles had been leaving the country, and after the flight to Varennes they began to pour across the frontier in greater numbers. They were now looking for an opportunity to regain their lost power. With this end in view they had been intriguing with certain of the German princes, with the Emperor Leopold, and with the king of Prussia. Many of these rulers saw in the progress of the revolution in France a menace to their own authority and were, therefore, impressed with the urgency of making common cause with the discredited French king and queen. The Empress Catherine of Russia, believing the time ripe for the seizure of a part or all of the tottering kingdom of Poland,<sup>1</sup> was delighted to see the gaze of her rivals, Austria and Prussia, directed toward the west, so that she might have a free hand in the east. To this end she threw her influence on the side of the *émigrés*, as the exiled French nobles were called, to embroil Austria and Prussia in a war with France. The Emperor Leopold and King Frederick William of Prussia finally reached a partial understanding as to the situation in France and signed the Declaration of Pillnitz (August 27, 1791), in which they proclaimed to Europe their intention of safeguarding the interests of the imperiled king and queen of France, provided all the sovereigns of Europe were disposed to act with them.

**Emigration of  
the Nobles**

**Attitude of the  
Empire,  
Prussia  
and Russia**

**Declaration  
of Pillnitz**

**59. Rise of Clubs and Parties.** — Meanwhile the new Legislative Assembly had met. The National Assembly, with a misdirected show of patriotism, had made it impossible for any of their number to sit in the new Legislative Assembly. Party lines which had developed in the first assembly began to be more sharply drawn in this new body. The removal of the National Assembly to Paris in October, 1789, had been marked by the formation of a strong political club, known as the Jacobin Club

**The Jacobins**

<sup>1</sup> See map opposite page 178.

from its place of meeting. At the outset this had consisted of those deputies who were especially desirous of giving France a constitutional government. This was clearly indicated by their official name, the Society of the Friends of the Constitution. They met to discuss the various measures proposed in the



DANTON

MARAT

ROBESPIERRE

MIRABEAU

### Jacobinism

Assembly and admitted to their membership men of letters, lawyers, and wealthy bourgeois. Societies began to be formed throughout the country on the same model as the Jacobin Club at the capital. Even before the meeting of the Legislative Assembly, these had affiliated with the parent society, and Jacobinism, as their teachings were called, had become a well-recognized political creed. These clubs undoubtedly rendered a great service to the country at large by informing and instructing the thinking classes and by welding them together for concerted action. Many friends of popular rights had been sorely

disappointed in the new constitution on account of its aristocratic character. One of these, a young lawyer named Danton, had therefore formed the Club of the Cordeliers. The members of this organization had taken the initiative in the affair of the Champ de Mars and were now biding the time when, supported by the workers and the rabble of the poorer quarters of the city, they might rally all citizens to the watchword of liberty and equality. Their influence in the Assembly at this time was comparatively slight.

**The Cordeliers**

When the Legislative Assembly opened its sessions on October 1, 1791, all the deputies were a unit in their desire to maintain the constitution; all stood shoulder to shoulder in their distrust of the king. The question which began to divide them and give rise to a new party line-up was, What attitude should they take in view of the king's apparent disloyalty to the work so recently accomplished? The resulting differences of opinion helped to bring into existence other political clubs and separated the Legislative Assembly into three well-defined parties. The conservative deputies were members of the club known as the Feuillants and wished to maintain the king as president of a hereditary republic. They became more royalistic in their sympathies with the passage of time. Their influence, however, was never decisive and they gradually lost ground and passed into oblivion. The Jacobin element divided its adherence between the leaders of a group of deputies known as the Girondists from the province of the Gironde in the southwest of France, and another group, afterwards known as the Mountain from the seats which they occupied in the Convention which later replaced the Legislative Assembly. The Girondists ultimately favored the establishment of a republic, but not until the constitutional monarchy had been proved impossible by the failure of the king to work according to its spirit. The Mountain, the most radical element of all, gradually came to be known as the mouthpiece of the democratic aspirations of the masses. It looked to the Paris mob for support in the

**The Feuillants**

**The Girondists**

**The Mountain**



overthrow of the existing government and labored for the establishment of a republic, grasping at whatever means offered themselves. The influence of the American Revolution may be traced in this division. In certain quarters, at least, the republican idea had taken firm root. The questions to be an-



swered were, What sort of a republic should be established? Who were to be its real rulers?

**60. Opposition of the King to the Assembly and the Outbreak of War.** — The massing of hostile nobles on the frontiers — the king's brothers among them — and the knowledge that there were many traitors within the country, prompted the Assembly to pass three measures. Two of these were directed against the dangers threatening them upon the frontier; the other sought to remove the lurking danger within. Many of the priests, known

as the non-juring clergy, had refused to swear allegiance to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and were stirring up trouble in various parts of the country. By the first of these measures they were required to take the oath of allegiance within eight days under the penalty of forfeiting their livings and of being treated as "suspects."<sup>1</sup> The *émigrés* were also declared to be traitors to their country and were ordered to cease mobilizing on the frontier under penalty of the confiscation of their abandoned properties. Finally, the Count of Provence, the elder of the king's brothers, was ordered to return to France within two months or to forfeit his claims to the throne. When these decrees were submitted to King Louis he refused to sign them. On the other hand, he sent letters to his brothers ordering them to return to France and professed to the Assembly his willingness to make war upon the German princes for encouraging these hostile demonstrations on the frontier.

The Non-juring  
Clergy

The King's  
Veto

This attitude did not satisfy the people. They saw in his vetoes evidence enough of his sympathy with their enemies and a refusal to proceed against them. The Jacobins and Girondists, however, were anxious for war, as they saw in a declaration of war, and a successful campaign against their foes without, the guarantee of the revolutionary measures within. They had already begun to be carried away by the magnificent idea of spreading broadcast throughout Europe the joyful tidings of liberty and equality. Even the Feuillants approved of a vigorous foreign war, as by this means they expected the king to vindicate himself and at the same time give added strength to the monarchic idea. War was therefore declared on April 20, 1792, not upon the Holy Roman Empire, but upon Austria. The proclamation was directed against Francis II, "King of Bohemia and Hungary."

Attitude  
of Parties  
towards War

Declaration  
of War

**61. The Abolition of Royalty and its Consequences.** — Unfortunately for King Louis the struggle opened badly for France.

<sup>1</sup> A name given to all who were opposed to the changes which the Revolution had brought with it. Such a charge often meant arrest, confiscation of property, and possible death.

**Invasion of  
the Tuilleries,  
June 20, 1792**

An utter lack of preparation resulted in reverses serious enough to arouse the people of Paris to a fever of apprehension and alarm. The Assembly felt the necessity of passing new measures to safeguard the country, but the king was unwise enough to veto them. Suspicion of the king's motives and intentions increased, and, as an immediate consequence, the people prepared for a great demonstration and protest. On the 20th of June, therefore, the Paris rabble overran the palace of the Tuilleries and marched in procession before the king, who courageously took up a conspicuous position in the palace while the mob filed before him. The Jacobins were undoubtedly behind the movement. They sought by these means to terrify the king and to secure his assent to the measures which they desired. If such was their purpose, it failed entirely. Instead a strong sentiment of loyalty to the monarch was aroused, especially throughout the provinces, where such proceedings on the part of the Paris populace were strongly resented as high-handed and presumptuous and an insult to the nation. The provinces did not wish Paris to speak for the country at large.

**Manifesto  
of the Duke  
of Brunswick**

Two circumstances, however, nullified these impressions and deprived the king of the advantages which might otherwise have been his. The one was the entry of Prussia into the war early in July, and the other, the publication two weeks later in the city of Paris of the Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick. The latter especially sealed the fate of the monarchy. The Duke of Brunswick had been intrusted with the leadership of the invading Prussian army. With the assistance of some of the emigrant nobles he drew up an insulting proclamation, threatening with the direst punishment all who should resist his army and promising to visit upon Paris military execution and annihilation if any harm came to the king or queen. "Had Austria and Prussia deliberately planned to aid the Girondists and Jacobins in destroying the French monarchy, they could have done nothing more suited to that end."

The answer to this direct challenge was the attack upon the

Tuileries on the 10th of August and the September Massacres, less than a month later. Thousands of Frenchmen from all parts of the country had been gathering at Paris to celebrate the anniversary of the "Federation." This was a solemn meeting of delegates from all parts of France who had first sworn allegiance to the new order of things on July 14, 1790. Among the delegates on this occasion was a group from Marseilles, who entered Paris singing the song which had just been composed by Rouget de l'Isle, thereafter known as the Marseillaise. These strangers, in conjunction with the Parisian populace and with Danton as the moving spirit, overthrew the existing government of Paris. The bells were then rung and the people were called to arms. On the morning of the 10th of August they attacked the Tuileries, which was defended by a few regiments of Swiss guards. Contradictory orders, issued either by the king or upon his authority, gave the attack the semblance of a massacre. The royal family fled for refuge to the hall where the Assembly was in session, and there the deputies decreed the calling of a Convention to reorganize the government upon a more democratic basis. They suspended the king as executive head of the government, but left his ultimate fate in the hands of the new assembly so soon to meet. They also named a provisional executive council, with Danton as its chief member. From this time forth, for months to come, the municipal government of Paris largely directed the course of the Revolution. The radical element of Paris had come into its own.

**Anniversary  
of the "Fed-  
eration"**

**Revolution of  
August 10th**

**Calling of the  
Convention**

Early in September this element gave a more startling proof of their power. The onward advance of the Prussians continued unchecked and the opposing forces melted away before them. France was totally unprepared for war. Her troops had been demoralized by the rapid course of events and by the loss of so many officers, all of whom had been recruited from the nobility. The new government had failed thus far to make adequate provision for a standing army free from the suspicion

**Military  
Situation**

of disloyalty. The people, however, attributed the failures which marked the opening campaigns to the disloyalty and treason of king, court, and nobles. There can be little doubt that they were doing all in their power to aid the advancing foe. The attack upon the Tuileries had been followed by the wholesale arrest of many nobles accused of conspiring with the invaders to overthrow the republic. On August 14 came the news of La Fayette's effort to turn his army against Paris, followed by his desertion (Aug. 19th); and on the same day the Prussian army entered Lorraine. Four days later it took Longwy and on the 30th invested Verdun. This was the last obstacle to be overcome in their march upon Paris, and it was generally known that Paris could not hold out for more than two days. Beside themselves with excitement as the result of this series of disasters, the people of Paris rushed to arms at the call of the city government and the cry, "The fatherland in danger!" It needed but the merest suggestion from a vehement journalist named Marat to precipitate the so-called September Massacres. He pointed out the folly of marching off to the front and leaving traitors in their rear who, sword in hand, only awaited the word to rise against the people, restore the king to his own, and wreak a bloody vengeance upon his enemies. For four days and nights groups of executioners made the rounds of the prisons in which the nobles were confined and, setting up a sort of drum head court, condemned to death and immediate execution hundreds of individuals suspected of treason towards the republic. These included old men, priests, and women. A wave of horror not only swept over France but over all Europe. The Legislative Assembly, which had not yet given way to the Convention, disclaimed all responsibility for these actions, but it undoubtedly contained many members who approved of them. Such acts horrified the Girondists. They blamed the Mountain for these developments, and from this time forward they became more and more hostile to each other. Two weeks after this wholesale clearance of the prisons,

**Desertion of  
La Fayette**

**Longwy  
and Verdun**

**Marat**

**Massacre of  
Prisoners**

**Effects**

the Assembly adjourned, and the very same day came the news of the check of the Prussian advance at Valmy by the French armies under Dumouriez and Kellerman (September 20, 1792).

**Victory  
of Valmy**

## 62. The Convention and the Declaration of the Republic. —

The task which confronted the Convention which had now met was first of all to give France a new form of government based



MARAT SPEAKING BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Marat had practised as a physician in London, and enjoyed some little reputation as a scientist because of his attacks on Sir Isaac Newton and Voltaire. His newspaper *Ami du Peuple* breathed his doctrine of suspicion. After the flight of the king, Marat made a speech before the Assembly openly advocating the appointment of a dictator with power to execute all suspected persons.

upon democratic lines. To do this it was necessary to dispose of the king. The first act of the deputies was to abolish royalty as an institution and to declare France a republic. Almost from the beginning of its meetings, the Revolution began to take on a serious aspect. The Convention itself began to be torn by bitter party strife, a condition which was reflected in the events

**Republic  
Declared**

**Party Strife**

upon the frontier and which brought France face to face with utter annihilation. The Girondists had already broken with the Mountain. They began to see that they had loosed forces which, if not properly controlled, would plunge the country into the greatest of catastrophes. They had all the distrust peculiar to the prosperous middle classes of the unpropertied working class and resented the idea of dictation by armed mobs. The Mountain, which was composed essentially of men of action, with a clearly defined purpose before it, now made common cause with the masses and did not hesitate to employ any means by which its ends might be realized. Paris was looked upon as the real heart of France, and the Mountain desired that the entire country should ratify all the actions of its capital. It was essentially the question of the part which Paris should play in the Revolution which divided the Convention. The Girondists represented the provinces and were hostile to the newly organized Paris Commune in which Danton exercised such tremendous influence. By this time two other leaders of the Mountain had appeared, Marat and a young lawyer named Robespierre, and the Girondists feared, and perhaps with reason, that the entire work of the Revolution would be undone through the establishment of a triumvirate composed of these two and Danton, with the latter as the driving force.

Paris  
vs.  
the Provinces

Ever since the king had been deprived of his office, there had been a growing demand that he be confronted with the charge of treason so frequently brought against him. The outcry increased when it became known that considerable correspondence between the king and the emigrant nobles had been discovered in the palace of the Tuileries. The Convention therefore resolved itself into a court, and for a month its sessions were devoted to sifting and weighing the evidence against Citizen Capet, or Louis Capet, as the king was now called. In spite of the eloquent pleadings of the lawyer for the defence, the king was finally found guilty of conspiracy by an overwhelming vote and was condemned to die. The execution took

Trial of  
Louis XVI

## CONVENTION NATIONALE.

D É F E N S E  
D E L O U I S ,Prononcée à la Barre de la Convention  
Nationale.*Le Mercredi 26 Décembre 1792, l'an premier de la République;*Par le Citoyens DESEZE l'un de ses Défenseurs  
officieux;

IMPRIMÉE PAR ORDRE DE LA CONVENTION NATIONALE

*oportet unum mori pro populo*  
*Je fais qu'il y en ait un de sacrifié pour le peuple*  
A PARIS,

DE L'IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE.

1792.

Bibliothèque.  
de  
Saint-Germain  
en Laye

E. 2. x

## THE DEFENCE OF LOUIS XVI

The title page of the speech of the advocate appointed to defend the king. The queen, Marie Antoinette, has written across the page in Latin and in French, "Some one had to die for the people."



**His Execution**

place on the present Place de la Concorde, where the guillotine had been set up. Louis XVI throughout his whole career never showed himself more of a king than at the trial and upon the scaffold.

**Effects  
upon Europe**

The news of the trial and execution of Louis XVI came as a great shock to states which had hitherto been more or less sympathetic towards the Revolution. This was especially true of England. Royalty in Europe was profoundly stirred, and the immediate result was a hostile combination of practically all western Europe against France. Nothing daunted by this attitude, the Convention boldly took the initiative and declared war upon the rulers of England, Spain, Holland, and the Holy Roman Empire. France now found herself entirely surrounded by enemies, and, to make matters worse, serious opposition had developed at home. The entire district of the Vendée in western France, which had always been intensely royalist and was already disaffected, now arose in insurrection, and many of the larger cities of the provinces made the death of the king a pretext for declaring war upon the Convention. Dumouriez, the only general who had thus far displayed any genius for fighting, now proclaimed his hostility to the Convention and prepared to lead his troops against them. His soldiers, however, refused to follow him, and he fled to Holland for safety.

**Effects  
upon France****Treason of  
Dumouriez**

Unfortunately for France the Convention was so divided at this moment that it too became a great battleground. The two great parties which had done so much to shape the course of the Revolution now clinched in a life and death struggle for supremacy. It was a battle of Titans, but the issue was not long in doubt. The Mountain triumphed by summoning to their aid the people of Paris. By force of arms they placed under arrest twenty-nine of the leading Girondist deputies. Some fled to their provinces for safety and there began to organize armed resistance to the high-handed acts of a body and of a city which, in their opinion, claimed falsely to be acting in the interests of the whole nation.

**Fall of the  
Girondists**

Hastily the remaining members now prepared the new constitution, — the task for which they had been originally summoned. This was known as the Constitution of the Year I, i.e. of the first year of the Republic, from which they had now agreed to date events in the future. Its chief merit lay in its recognition of the principle of manhood suffrage — a recognition which counted for little at the time, as this government soon gave way to the arbitrary rule of the Convention and of the Committee of Public Safety.

**The Constitution of the Year I**

**63. The Crisis of 1793 and the Formation of the Committee of Public Safety.** — Matters had now come to a critical pass. Although the revolutionary armies at Valmy the preceding September and at Jemappes two months later had displayed the greatest enthusiasm and had achieved the impossible by stemming and beating back the great tide of invasion, no provision had yet been made for organizing and beating into shape the very crude instruments with which these victories had been attained. The French armies now proved entirely inadequate to meet the new danger. The armies of Spain advanced through the Pyrenees; the Austrians took Condé and Valenciennes; the French fell back before the Prussians in Alsace. Then, too, the foes of the Convention swarmed within the country. It was no time for putting into operation a government which was even more decentralized than that of 1791. The nation not only faced a foreign war of great magnitude without, but civil strife within. These conditions explain the extreme measures which marked the year 1793, which has been justly regarded as the great turning-point in the entire Revolution.

**Need of Army Reorganization**

The situation called for the strongest possible executive body. This was found in the Committee of Public Safety, twelve men chosen by the Convention from their own number to handle all problems of administration and to decide upon a proper course of action. The government was "more arbitrary, more absolute, more highly centralized than had ever been the absolute mon-

**The Committee of Public Safety**

archy," even under a Richelieu or a Louis XIV. The leading members of this Committee, who were chosen for a month at a time, but might be reëlected indefinitely, were Carnot, to whom were intrusted matters pertaining to the army, Barère, Robespierre, and Saint-Just. A Revolutionary Tribunal became subject to their authority, under their direction looked after all prosecutions of suspects, and set itself to work to rid the land of all traitors. The work of the Committee was greatly furthered by the coöperation of the revolutionary committees which were established in the various cities and by the Jacobin organization with its numerous branches throughout the country. The most effective agency at their command was the group of "deputies on mission," as they were called, who were assigned to the different armies and to the various cities and departments into which the country was divided to see to it that the commands of the Committee were obeyed. Death became the penalty not alone for disobedience but for failure.

**64. Work of the Committee of Public Safety.** — The Committee of Public Safety prosecuted its work with vigor. Its highly centralized form of organization made it a most effective instrument in securing order at home and in winning victories abroad. France was virtually placed under a military government; martial law reigned supreme. One of the earliest measures of the government was to decree a general conscription, — a "levy in mass" as it was called — by which a half million or more men were called to the defence of the imperiled country. It also placed a heavy war tax of 1,000,000 francs upon the well-to-do, passed stringent laws against suspects, and sought to safeguard the people against the rise in prices consequent upon a state of war by the "Law of the Maximum," which forbade the selling of grain and flour at a higher price than that fixed by each commune. The most effective method, however, which the government employed to handle the domestic problem was "terror." The "Law of the Suspects" proclaimed as traitors not only those who sought in

any way to deprive the people of the liberty which they had so dearly won, but those who were doing nothing to safeguard it. Wholesale arrests followed its enactment, and every day saw not one or two but whole batches of victims handed over to the guillotine. Among these were the queen, Marie Antoinette, Bailly, the former mayor of Paris, the Duke of Orleans, cousin of the late king, and many Girondists. From April 6, 1793, to July 27, 1794, when terror was the deliberate policy of the government, 2596 persons were executed in the city of Paris alone. The example set by the Revolutionary Tribunal at the capital was followed in the provinces. It is estimated that 12,000 persons were condemned to death, among whom were about 4000 peasants and 3000 from the working class. In the city of Lyons the victims were shot; at Nantes they were drowned by hundreds in the river Loire without even the semblance of a trial. So many victims perished here that the water was contaminated and the authorities forbade the eating of fish. By such rigorous measures the government restored order throughout the length and breadth of France.

Their activities were equally effective in the conduct of the war. Carnot reorganized the demoralized troops, placed capable generals over them, provided for their equipment and subsistence, and, in short, brought order out of the chaos and confusion which had prevailed up to this time in the military arm of the government. Europe has seldom witnessed such a transformation in a fighting force. The task before Carnot was to utilize to the advantage of the nation the tremendous enthusiasm and the patriotism so characteristic of the rank and file of these armies and to give it an effective means of expressing itself upon the battlefield. The spirit of sacrifice which had taken possession of so many of the soldiers is illustrated by the following extract from a letter written by a corporal to his peasant mother: "When I see you sorrowing over my lot, it pains me more than all the evils which I experience and draws tears from my eyes. Rejoice instead! Either you will see me returning covered with

Services of  
Carnot

Spirit of  
the Soldiers

glory or you will have a son worthy of the name of French citizen who will know how to die in defence of his country. When our fatherland calls upon us to defend it we should fly to the rescue as I would hurry to a good meal. Our lives, our possessions, our faculties, are not our own; they belong to the nation, to our country. We are here under conditions which savor only of death, but I await it with calmness of spirit."

**Military  
Successes**

The success which crowned the efforts of Carnot are attested by the title "Organizer of Victory," which was later bestowed upon him by a zealous defender of his acts. Within a few months after his entry into the great committee, the French armies had entirely expelled the Austrians and Prussians; had recovered the great cities of Lyons and Toulon, which had been in open revolt against the government; and had overwhelmed the Vendéan armies upon several bloody battlefields, reducing at last this disaffected province to submission to the acts of the central government.

**Conquests of  
the French  
Armies**

This same amazing energy and driving power were soon rewarded by a series of victories on the frontiers. The eleven armies which had been placed in the field not only drove the invaders from French soil but reconquered Belgium and occupied the great cities of Cologne and Coblenz. All this was accomplished by the end of 1794 — a veritable *annus mirabilis* in French history.

**The  
Revolutionary  
Propaganda  
and its  
Reception**

Even before the Committee of Public Safety was established, the armies of France had carried the gospel of liberty and equality beyond the French borders and it had there found a ready acceptance. Back in 1792 the Girondists, conceiving it as their mission to champion the cause of the downtrodden and oppressed of every land, had proclaimed their willingness to assist their neighbors in throwing off the heavy burdens under which they suffered. This same purpose also animated the Convention, which promised "Succor and fraternity to all peoples who shall desire to receive their liberty." In 1792 the seed had already been planted by French armies operating in Belgium, in parts of

Germany, and in northwestern Italy. These armies had been forced to retire, however, before much had been accomplished. The French patriots seized upon this new opportunity with an even greater enthusiasm and began again to overrun the Rhenish provinces and Belgium, proclaiming loudly the welcome tidings. More unworthy motives, however, soon came to the fore. The Convention decreed that in every country occupied by the French armies the feudal rights, the nobility, and all existing privileges should be abolished and that the "properties belonging to the prince, to his satellites, and to the religious and secular communities should be placed under the safe-keeping of the French Republic." This act virtually amounted to confiscation. The war was taking on a new character. It was no longer a mere crusade in the cause of liberty, but a war of conquest. Side by side with this change was to be noted a revival of the ideal of Louis XIV, to establish the Ocean, the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees as the boundaries of their beloved France. To attain this result, several annexations of territory must be effected, and with such ambitions coming to the front, the European struggle became a war of aggression.

**Changing  
Character of  
the War**

This change was appreciated in England, which a century and more before had championed the cause of its weaker continental neighbors against the aggressive policies of Louis XIV. The occupation of Belgium in 1793 and especially the possession of the city of Antwerp brought the power of France to the very doors of England. The occupation of Antwerp, they declared, was equivalent to pointing a loaded pistol "at the heart of England." To anticipate any designs which France might have upon England itself, the younger Pitt, who was then prime minister, undertook to form a continental coalition against France. In this he succeeded so well that by April, 1793, three powers, Austria, Prussia, and England, had pledged each other to wage a war of extermination upon France, and each was to seek its reward in a portion of French territory. Thus the struggle for territory on the part of France was

**Attitude  
and Fears  
of England**

**The First  
Coalition**

matched by a corresponding defensive struggle on the part of her adversaries.

**65. Dictatorship of Robespierre and his Overthrow.** — With this change of fortune upon the frontier and the gradual restoration of order within, went changes in the government. Danton, who more than any other single person had been responsible for the radical measures which had been adopted in this crisis and who had from the very beginning looked upon these arrangements as merely temporary in character, now expected that the attainment of a semblance of order at home and of victory abroad would be followed by more moderate counsels. He had seized upon an extreme remedy to meet a desperate situation. He was not a member of the Committee; in fact he had refused to accept a position upon it, but his influence with its members was fully as great as though he had been one of their number. He found many supporters in the position which he now took, that the time was ripe for less strenuous measures. The methods which the government had employed — the arrests, the hurried trials, and the speedy execution of the enemies of the state — had encouraged the more radical elements in the Convention and in the Committee to demand measures of a more blood-thirsty character. These they urged under the guise of a patriotism which did not always harmonize with their real sentiments. Hébert was the leader of this faction, which had its representatives among the officials of the Paris Commune. For a time the Hébertists, as they were called, shaped to a certain extent the course of events both in the capital and in parts of the provinces.

Between these two rival factions stood Robespierre. Robespierre has been called one of the enigmas of the French Revolution, and various diverse opinions of his motives and conduct have been expressed by historians. He was of the puritan type, honest and sincere, but saturated through and through with the ideas of Rousseau. His purpose seems to have been to put these ideas into practice and to remodel France along dem-

Factions in the  
Government:  
Danton

Hébert

Robespierre  
and his Ideas

ocratic and rationalistic lines. His one thought was to purify the country, — to apply the same sort of a process which the gold refiner applies as he strives to separate the pure metal from the dross. He did not hesitate, therefore, to employ any means which in his mind would further by ever so little the attainment of his end. Simplicity of life, simplicity of governmental organization, a return to nature *à la Rousseau*, were the essence of his state-craft. He had for some time past borne the surname of "The Incorruptible," such was his reputation for honesty. He could not be charged with profiting in a mercenary way by the power which he wielded. His great weakness seems to have been his love of popular applause. He was always willing to act as the spokesman of the Committee, and in this way came to be the best known of its members. This failing may explain the prominence which he enjoyed and the habit which the people formed of attributing to him, and to him alone, measures with which he probably had little to do.

**His Strong  
and Weak  
Points**

The Hébertists and Dantonists, as the friends of Danton were called, both stood in the way of the attainment of Robespierre's ideals. It was only for a brief interval that the Hébertists, working through the Paris Commune, had the upper hand. The church was the special object of their attack. They closed the churches, stilled all the church bells as undemocratic, repudiated and rejected Christianity, and in its place instituted the Worship of Reason. On November 10, 1793, the city of Paris celebrated amid great rejoicing the inauguration of the new cult by a great procession and a service in Notre Dame at which an opera dancer was solemnly installed upon the high altar as the personification of the Goddess of Reason. The "service" degenerated into a veritable orgy and shocked the great masses of people, who revolted at such a travesty upon religion.

**The Hébertists  
and the Wor-  
ship of Reason**

Robespierre, with the support of the Convention, was soon able to undermine the influence of Hébert and his friends, and they were brought before the Tribunal and condemned to death as enemies of the state. Their influence in the Paris

**Overthrow of  
Hébertists**



Overthrow  
of Danton  
and his  
Followers

Commune was also broken. The government of the city was now placed in the hands of the friends of Robespierre, who was no less hostile to Danton and the ideas which he represented. It was a more difficult matter to compass the downfall of the Great Commoner. The unexpected happened, however, and Danton, who had labored so long and so zealously in the interests of his country, gave up his life with several of his friends, as so many others had done, to purify France and to launch it upon its new future.

Robespierre  
as Dictator

Robespierre was now the undisputed master. A desire to dictate the course of the Revolution rather than the mere love of power seems to have shaped his actions. One of his first steps was to establish by a decree of the Convention the worship of the Supreme Being, as a protest against the atheism of the Hébertists. Robespierre was convinced that in order to be permanent a state must be grounded in religion, but, like Voltaire and Rousseau, he rejected the established church as narrow and bigoted and hostile to the reign of virtue which he was striving to inaugurate. The number of victims claimed by the guillotine increased rather than diminished in the pursuit of his aims, and such was his command over the Committee and the Convention that he secured the passage of a law by the Convention which provided that any of its members could be tried and condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal without their action or approval. All that the Tribunal required to rid the country of any one objectionable to Robespierre or his associates was "moral proof." The accused was deprived both of witnesses and defenders; in other words this law legalized assassination.

Fall of  
Robespierre

This act more than any other precipitated his downfall. No one knew where the blow was likely to fall, and there were many men in the Convention who were well aware that their patriotism would not bear careful scrutiny or investigation. A conspiracy was formed and a decree was passed by the Convention accusing Robespierre of trying to play the rôle of another Cromwell. He was rescued by his friends and adherents, however, before he

could be brought before the Tribunal for trial, and for the moment Paris was on the verge of a bloody struggle for supremacy between the Convention and the Robespierrists. Robespierre hesitated, however, to precipitate an open insurrection. The slight resistance offered by his immediate followers was



ROBESPIERRE ARRESTED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION

speedily broken down, and he was hurried off to the guillotine, where he, too, paid the penalty for his devotion to the cause of Revolution. With his death the Terror may be said to have come to an end. That he furnished the inspiration of many of its bloodiest acts is shown by the death-toll of 1376 persons from the enactment of the law on the 10th of June to his fall on July 27, 1794. One hundred and fifty persons were executed in the two days of the 8th and 9th of July alone. The trials and executions did not entirely cease with his death, as might have

End of  
the Terror

been expected. The months that followed were marked by reactionary measures in which the promoters of the bloodshed of the preceding months expiated in their turn upon the guillotine their crime of having exhibited too great a zeal in the cause of the Revolution.

#### 66. The Reestablishment of Constitutional Government. —

The interval between Robespierre's downfall and the establishment of the Directory was one of great uncertainty. Royalist movements threatened to sweep away all the results which had thus far been attained at so great a cost of blood and treasure. The abolition of the Law of the Maximum and a scarcity of food bred discontent among the masses, and this expressed itself in insurrectionary movements. The Convention, however, remained true to its republican principles and maintained in all its essential features the system which had replaced the *ancien régime*. Its members, recognizing the weaknesses and inadequacy of the Constitution of the Year I, applied themselves to the work of framing a new government which should preserve all that was best of the benefits conferred by the Revolution, and, in spite of obstacles within the assembly and adverse sentiment without, gave to the country for its ratification the Constitution of the Year III.

The proposed government was again based upon a property qualification — which had been abolished in 1792 — and in consequence there was great dissatisfaction with these provisions among the masses. The Convention sought to prevent the return to power of the royalists by a decree requiring that two thirds of the newly elected deputies should be chosen from their own number. A strong executive was provided for in the arrangement for five directors to be chosen by the legislature. The result was a vigorous effort on the part of the royalists to overthrow the constitution and disband the Convention. This was frustrated by a force of four thousand men under Napoleon Bonaparte, a young man of 26, who held at bay and dispersed four times that number on Oct. 5, 1795.

Discontent

Constitution  
of Year III

Napoleon  
and the Attack  
upon the  
Convention

Three weeks later the Convention declared its work finished and dispersed with the cry, "Long live the Republic!"

France owed much to this body of earnest men, who now adjourned to make way for the new government. From its membership had been selected the great Committee of Public Safety. Without their support, however, much of the work of the Committee would have failed. The Committee was their creation, their agent, carrying out measures for which they made themselves responsible. Within the short period of its existence the Convention had given France a new system of weights and measures, — the metric system of today — had put into operation a new calendar, known as the revolutionary calendar, which was later repudiated; had laid the foundations of the present French educational system; and prepared the way for the codification and simplification of the law by Napoleon Bonaparte a few years later. There was no problem too difficult for their intelligence. Thus we find them striving to bring order out of the tangled finances and blazing the way for the financiers of today. Their greatest achievement was undoubtedly the preservation of their country in its hour of danger. To them rather than to the Great Committee alone should be given the credit for bringing France safely through one of the darkest hours in her history.

**Achievements  
of the  
Convention**

**The  
Metric System  
and Calendar**

Already treaties of peace had been signed with Holland, Prussia, and Spain (the Treaty of the Hague and the Treaties of Basel). This meant the breaking up of the coalition formed by England in 1793. By the terms of these agreements the Rhine and the Pyrenees were recognized as the frontiers of France, thereby establishing the principle for which Louis XIV had contended a century before. Belgium was thus recognized as French territory. England and Austria were still factors to be reckoned with, but the attention of the latter at this time was drawn to the dismemberment of Poland, and for the moment Austria exerted little pressure upon France itself.

**Peace  
with Holland,  
Prussia,  
and Spain**

**67. The Dismemberment of Poland.**—This period witnessed the final act in one of the most disgraceful episodes which history records, the extinction of Polish nationality by the division of Polish territory among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. It was not only Poland's misfortune to stand in the path of their ambitions but to show lamentable weakness in the face of the danger which threatened the country. Reference has already been made to the designs of Russia upon this great land mass in the days of Peter the Great. It has been pointed out how the efforts to carry out their fell purpose helped to determine the attitude of these European states towards the overthrow of the French monarchy. The first partition of Poland, which was based upon a treaty, was consummated in 1772; the second in 1793; and the final partition in 1795. A glance at the map (opposite page 178) will serve to indicate just how far each nation profited thereby. Russia perhaps secured the lion's share. Thus within the brief period which had elapsed since the fateful year 1789, important territorial changes had taken place not alone in western Europe but in the east as well.

#### SUGGESTIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Distinguish between the peaceful and the violent stages of the French Revolution.
2. What was the effect of the flight to Varennes upon the country at large?
3. Give a brief characterization of each of the leaders of the new republican party.
4. Compare the Champ de Mars with the Boston Massacre.
5. Distinguish between the National and the Legislative Assembly.
6. Describe some of the French newspapers of the time.
7. Contrast the views of the Jacobins and the Girondists.
8. How did the Assembly lose the confidence of the common people?
9. Comment upon the terms "Madame Veto" and "sansculottes."
10. What was the origin of the "Marseillaise"?
11. How did the Convention propose to revolutionize Europe?
12. Compare the execution of Louis XVI with that of Charles I of England in respect to legality of procedure and justification.
13. Compare the situation in Europe in March, 1793, with that of August, 1794.
14. Comment upon these terms: "guillotine," "reign of terror," "revolutionary tribunal," "Committee of Public Safety," "law of suspects," "the Mountain."
15. Give an account of the rise, policy, and downfall of Robespierre.
16. Give an account of the three partitions of Poland.

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2. Danton. Belloc, pp. 70-4. Johnston, pp. 120-4, 144-56, 171-7, 186-8, 202-8. Mallet, pp. 175-8, 238-40, 247-8. Mathews, pp. 185-6. Hayes, Modern Europe, Vol. I, pp. 492-3.
3. Carnot. Belloc, pp. 74-6. Mallet, pp. 147-9, 248-60.
4. Robespierre. Belloc, pp. 79-85. Mallet, pp. 147-9, 248-60. Johnston, pp. 202-21. Plunket, Fall of the Old Order, pp. 111-8. Mathews, pp. 186-7, 252-65. Hayes, Vol. I, p. 493.
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## III. THE CONVENTION AND THE REIGN OF TERROR.

Johnston, pp. 170-238. Belloc, pp. 123-45. Morris, pp. 75-142. Rose, pp. 71-92. Mallet, pp. 182-260. Gardiner, The French Revolution, pp. 156-220. Stephens, Revolutionary Europe, pp. 124-47. Plunket, pp. 103-20. Jeffery, New Europe, pp. 22-32. Mathews, pp. 224-33. Hayes, Vol. I, pp. 502-12.

## SOURCE STUDIES

1. The flight of the king to Varennes. Fling, Source Problems on the French Revolution, pp. 251-325. Robinson and Beard, Readings, Vol. I, pp. 278-80.
2. Marat attacks the royalists. *Ibid.*, pp. 281-2.
3. The Declaration of Pillnitz. *Ibid.*, pp. 282-3.
4. Opinion of a royalist on the work of the Assembly. *Ibid.*, pp. 283-5.
5. Origin of the Jacobin club. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-7. Library of Original Sources. Volume VII, pp. 428-30.
6. Letter of Louis XVI to the King of Prussia. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-8.
7. French Assembly declares war on Austria. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-90.
8. Decree against the non-juring clergy. *Ibid.*, pp. 291-2.

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9. Proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick. *Ibid.*, pp. 292-4.
10. Debate during the first session of the Convention. *Ibid.*, 295-8.
11. Proclamation of the Convention to the nations, 1792. *Ibid.*, pp. 298-9.
12. Views of Saint-Just. *Ibid.*, pp. 300-2.
13. Views of Desmoulins. *Ibid.*, pp. 303-8.
14. Extracts from Burke's views on the French Revolution. Cheyney, *Readings*, pp. 647-50.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

1. Show the changes in central Europe produced by the French Revolution.
2. On an outline map of Europe show the countries with which the French Republic was at war.
3. Show the ecclesiastical divisions of France, 1789-1802.

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## CHAPTER VI

### THE NAPOLEONIC ERA

68. **The Government and the Army in 1795.** — With the ratification of the new government, known as the Directory, and the signing of the Treaties of Basel and the Hague, it might have been expected that normal conditions would once more prevail in France. The government, though republican in form, also partook largely of the character of an oligarchy, as great power had been conferred upon the five men who were at the head of affairs. However admirable this form of government may have appeared upon paper, in practice it soon proved itself woefully inefficient and incompetent. By this time the French people were beginning to weary of so many changes in such rapid succession, with all the uncertainty and disorder with which they were accompanied. When the control over the Committee of Public Safety passed into the hands of Robespierre, it had looked for the moment as though the Bourbon system was about to be reëstablished, but with this difference, that the supreme control was vested in a disciple of Rousseau rather than in a representative of the *ancien régime*. The career of Robespierre had demonstrated how easy it was for a single individual with a well-defined purpose and possessed of a moderate amount of political genius, to absorb into his own hands all the powers of the government.

Weaknesses  
of the  
Directory

The great task which the French people had set themselves of restoring their country by force of arms to its former position of grandeur and power among the nations of Europe offered a golden opportunity to the successful military leader for playing at the same time an equally successful political rôle.

•



Carnot had built up a splendid military machine. The royal aristocratic army of the Bourbons was a thing of the past. Promotions were now made on merit for services actually rendered, and the private with ability might soon find himself at the head of great armies. It was essentially the day of the young man. Youthful enthusiasm combined with ability soon won both recognition and promotion. Among the generals who had already won reputations upon the battlefield, there was scarcely a man over forty. The more disturbed and uncertain the future, the greater the demand for successful military leaders, and the easier it was for some one of these to make himself the political master. Caesar had become emperor, and Cromwell had been named Protector under similar circumstances; our own Washington was urged to accept the crown as ruler of these United States. Events were now shaping themselves in France towards the same end, and the man who was to profit thereby was Napoleon Bonaparte. The Directory gave him his opportunity.

**Influence  
of the Army**

**69. Training and Personality of Bonaparte.** — Napoleon Bonaparte was a French subject born on the island of Corsica in 1769. He just escaped being born a citizen of the Genoese republic, as Corsica had been annexed to France only the year before. By nationality, therefore, he was not a Frenchman but an Italian, and throughout his entire career showed many of the characteristics of the people of that peninsula. His was not an imposing figure; he was too short, his head was much too large for his body, and he stood with legs stretched far apart. All in all, physically he was a rather insignificant specimen of humanity. It was his face and eyes, the carriage of the head, the high forehead, the aquiline nose, and the features which seemed chiselled in marble that impressed the beholder. There was about the man such an air of quiet determination, such an atmosphere of pent-up activity, as marked him for a natural leader among his fellows. He was a marvel of energy and had a capacity for hard work and for long hours possessed by few. It is said that he seldom slept for more than five hours out of the twenty-

**Nationality**

**Characteristics**



NAPOLEON I

Napoleon the Great, Emperor of the French, in his coronation robes.

**Education**

four and that he would often rise in the middle of the night and summon his secretaries about him. He was a master of detail, readily singling out the essentials from the non-essentials. He was a strange combination of dreamer and practical man of affairs; he would build what appeared to be the wildest castles in the air and then deliberately proceed to realize them. At the age of ten he was sent over to France to be educated in the military school of Brienne, where he showed a very unsocial spirit in his contact with his comrades, but displayed a special aptitude for mathematics — a clear indication of the natural bent of his mind. After he had completed his course he was appointed to the artillery branch of the service and first won recognition at the siege of Toulon in 1793. The English fleet had been admitted to the harbor by traitors within the city, and backed by the forces within the city they were holding out against the armies of the Convention. Bonaparte saw the weak point in the city's defences and, by planting a battery upon one of the hills commanding the harbor, forced the English fleet to retire. He also earned the gratitude of the Convention by dispersing the forces which were launched against it on October 4-5, 1795. In short, his services had been such as to augur well for his future success as a military leader, but he had not as yet attracted general attention, nor was he in any sense a political figure.

**At Toulon****Relations  
with the  
Convention****Bonaparte  
and the  
Revolution**

Bonaparte had not shown himself particularly interested or active in the dramatic changes which marked the early days of the Revolution. He had preferred to watch and wait, biding the time when his talents might find their proper field of expression. Between 1784 and 1789 he had read widely, devouring the works of the philosophers and reformers and accepting many of their principles as a part of his political creed. He sympathized but little, however, with the aspirations or demands of the masses, or with those leaders who catered to their interests. He believed in law and order and in system, leaning in his political opinions toward the views of the middle classes.



BONAPARTE AT TOULON

Bonaparte is represented as charging impetuously up the heights back of Toulon on which the British were stationed and driving them ignominiously from the field. In this action he was wounded in the leg by a British bayonet, as shown in the picture. He called this wound his "Baptism of Blood." Note the uniforms of the soldiers.

**Marriage  
with Josephine**

**70. Bonaparte in Italy: Campaign of 1796-7.** — His marriage in 1795 with Josephine de Beauharnais, a beautiful Creole of the island of Martinique and the widow of one of the victims of the Terror, secured for him the favor of Barras, one of the most influential of the Directors, and contributed not a little to his appointment in 1796 as general of the Army of Italy. The Directory was now planning a decisive blow at Austria and Sardinia, who had joined forces against France and were still hostile to the Republic. The Directors, acting in part upon the advice of Bonaparte, planned to attack Austria both in Germany and in Italy, and in the spring of 1796 Bonaparte took command of the motley force known as the Army of Italy — a command which, in the words of a contemporary, was “to open for him the doors of immortality.” Crossing the Apennines, by the brilliancy of his strategy he quickly prevented the Austrians and Sardinians from joining forces upon the plains of Lombardy. Defeating each in turn, he soon forced his enemies to sign the Peace of Campo Formio, by which Austria recognized the Ligurian and Cisalpine republics which Bonaparte had created and renounced her claims upon Belgium and the lands lying west of the Rhine to France. As partial compensation for these losses, the territory of the recently conquered Venetian Republic was ceded to Austria.

**Appointment  
to the Army  
of Italy**

**Peace of  
Campo Formio**

**Military genius  
of Bonaparte**

This campaign established Bonaparte's reputation as a great military leader. He had taken a small, ragged, ill-equipped force of 37,000 men and by brilliant manoeuvres had destroyed upon their own ground five Austrian armies, not one of which numbered less than 45,000 men and which were commanded by some of the best generals in Europe. This campaign — a series of moves consisting of 18 battles and 65 skirmishes — is justly accounted “one of the classic pieces of the military art,” and is therefore worthy of careful study.

Bonaparte had done more, however, than to secure for himself a military reputation. He had come down into northern Italy



THE YOUNG BONAPARTE

Napoleon Bonaparte is here represented as quelling an insurrection in Paris under the Directory.

**Bonaparte  
as the  
Champion  
of Liberty**

posing as the champion of these peoples who were staggering under the yoke of Austria, proclaiming as his real purpose the restoration of all Italy to its former position of glory and honor among the nations. Divided as the land was into small states and principalities, with an outsider, Austria, dominating everything and stifling every effort towards union and independence, the message which he brought fell upon receptive ears and aroused the greatest hopes and expectations among all Italian patriots. The creation of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics out of a portion of the captured territories was a sort of pledge of what they might expect in the future, and the Italian people saw in this step the dawn of a new era for a land which had so long served merely as a great battleground for the rest of Europe.

**Creation of  
Republics**

**Bonaparte's  
Opportunity**

But Bonaparte had accomplished even more. From this time forward the French people began to look to him as the coming leader about whom they could rally in a crisis. It was not alone his conduct of the campaign, but his administration of the conquered country, which marked him as a man of great ability. He now began to voice the ambition which stimulated him to action. He had already fixed his eye upon the distant goal. "Do you think," he said in conversation with some of his intimate friends, "that I triumph in Italy to make the greatness of the lawyers of the Directory?" Throughout all these undertakings in Italy he constantly kept his finger upon the pulse of France, realizing that the time was not far distant when he would be called upon to declare his real purpose, but knowing full well, to quote his own words, that the "pear was not yet ripe." He still posed as a champion and as a supporter of the existing order in France and despatched one of his subordinates to Paris in September, 1797, when royalist movements threatened the overthrow of the Directory.

**71. Bonaparte in Egypt.** — There was only one nation still in arms against France. That was England. When Bonaparte laid down his command in Italy and was ready to return to France he found himself in a rather embarrassing position. No

sufficient pretext was at hand for another change in the government, and any one who attempted such a move was foredoomed to failure. The Directors, while they feared Bonaparte, did not know how to safeguard themselves against him or what to do with him. They therefore welcomed his proposal that he be intrusted with a force which should deliver a telling blow at England's power in the Mediterranean. Such an expedition



BONAPARTE IN EGYPT

The figure of Bonaparte is seen plodding resolutely on ahead of his troops over the sands of Egypt in the Egyptian campaign.

fitted in well with Bonaparte's schemes. Not only did the project open up great possibilities in the acquisition of additional honor and glory, but it afforded him a pretext for absenting himself for the time being from affairs at the capital. He was undoubtedly fascinated by the idea of repeating Alexander's exploits in the East. He proposed to land a force in Egypt and, having won a foothold there, to strike at England's supremacy in India. If all went well he might carve out for himself a great eastern empire which should rival that of the great Macedonian.

He accordingly set sail with a large fleet and a picked force of 35,000 soldiers, and, landing at Alexandria, soon occupied

**Aims of  
Bonaparte**



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### Battle of the Pyramids

Cairo, fighting several battles with the Mamelukes, who were the real rulers of the land. One of these was fought within the shadow of the Pyramids. "Forty centuries are looking down upon you," was his exhortation to his soldiers as he drew them up in battle order. The first setback to the expedition was the loss of the fleet. The English government, realizing the danger that threatened its power in the Mediterranean and possibly in India, had ordered the fleet under Admiral Nelson to intercept the French expedition. Nelson failed in this, but the first day of August, 1798, he finally came upon the French fleet at anchor in Aboukir Bay at the mouth of the Nile. By a series of manoeuvres he placed the French ships at the disadvantage of being outnumbered two to one, and in the battle which followed he destroyed all but four vessels. Two of these were ships of the line and the others frigates. The Battle of the Nile, or of Aboukir Bay, as it is sometimes called, bottled up the French army in Egypt, cutting off entirely Bonaparte's communications with France. Nothing daunted, he invaded Syria, and upon ground made famous by the crusaders centuries before won several battles, but was repulsed at Acre and forced to retire into Egypt again. He showed remarkable skill in handling his now weakened forces and won a great name for himself among the Turks.

### Battle of the Nile

### Invasion of Syria

### Zurich, 1799

### Bonaparte's Return

Soon after his return to Egypt he learned from some English newspapers which fell into his hands that matters were progressing unfavorably at home; that war had broken out again between France and Austria; and that all his Italian conquests had been lost. Although the tide of battle began to turn in favor of the Directory by the victory of Zurich in September, 1799, this body had already fallen into such disrepute that some change of government was imminent. The time seemed most opportune for his return if he were to take advantage of the situation. Abandoning his army in Egypt and accompanied by only a few of his most trusted generals, Bonaparte with great difficulty succeeded in escaping the patrol of English ships and

in making his way back to France, where he was received with the wildest enthusiasm. His countrymen, knowing of nothing but his successes, little realized that his Egyptian expedition had entirely failed in its main purpose and that it was only a matter of time when the abandoned army, like water, would be entirely absorbed by the sands of the Egyptian deserts. However, even though the French did not take over Egypt in this campaign, they left their mark upon it. Bonaparte had taken with him prominent engineers, archaeologists, and scientists, and the expedition in many ways partook of the nature of a modern exploring expedition. These men studied the monuments, the history, the institutions, and the resources of the country. For the first time Europe was given a knowledge of the past and an interest in the present of this cradle of ancient civilization which has been the foundation for all later study and interest. It was a Frenchman, Champollion, who deciphered the Rosetta Stone, which was discovered at this time, and by so doing made it possible for scholars to read the hieroglyphics and marvel at the achievements of the long-forgotten Pharaohs.

**The End of  
the Egyptian  
Expedition**

**Study of Egypt  
and its  
Antiquities**

**72. Establishment of Bonaparte's Power in France.** — Bonaparte had returned at a time most favorable for the furtherance of his ambitions. All eyes were now turned to him as the instrument for extricating France from her present troubles and restoring peace and prosperity to the distracted country. In his absence matters had gone from bad to worse. The country was bankrupt; the roads infested with brigands; the government utterly discredited and despised; and graft reigned supreme. The efforts of the American representatives to secure a treaty of friendship with the new government showed up in startling fashion the corruption which honeycombed the administration and brought our country to the verge of war with its former ally. The American representatives were not only unable to get a hearing with the directors, but it was also intimated by certain men who acted as go-betweens in the negotiations that they could neither look for a favorable reception

**Inefficiency and  
Unpopularity of  
the Directory**

nor a satisfactory conclusion to their mission without first advancing large sums of money to members of the French government. This prompted one of our diplomats to exclaim: "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute." President Adams laid bare the negotiations in a message to Congress substituting for the names of these agents the letters X, Y, Z, and the episode is usually known as the X, Y, Z affair.

Bonaparte showed his political sagacity by sounding the feelings of the different factions and leaders before committing himself to any line of action. The presence of his brother in one of the law-making bodies and the coöperation of Sieyès, an unscrupulous politician and one of the Directors, enabled him to plan and execute successfully the overthrow of the Directory and the formation of a new government known as the Consulate, a name taken from the pages of Roman history. By force and intrigue they executed the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire<sup>1</sup> as it was called, by which they placed themselves in entire control of the state. This *coup d'état*, or quickly executed move against the existing order, was the first of a series of such steps in the history of France.

Under Bonaparte's influence a complicated constitution was now drawn up which divided the legislative power between four bodies: one to propose the laws; another to discuss them; one to vote upon them; and finally a Senate to determine their constitutionality. The real power was lodged in the hands of three consuls, of whom Bonaparte was named first consul, his colleagues counting for little more than figure-heads. In all but name Bonaparte was now master of France. He had made himself necessary, almost indispensable, to his countrymen, and they gladly placed themselves under his orders. They believed him to be all that he claimed himself to be, "a true child of the Revolution." He was, therefore, the proper person to com-

<sup>1</sup> *Brumaire* was the second month of the republican calendar. The date according to our calendar is November 9, 1799.

Overthrow of  
the Directory

The Consulate

plete its work. The true situation was probably appreciated only by the few, as the new Constitution of the Year VIII was submitted to the vote of the people and was approved by a large majority. This device, which Bonaparte employed upon



THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF THE 18TH BRUMAIRE

Bonaparte entered the Councils, escorted by soldiers; the Ancients listened to him quietly; but the Five Hundred in tumult proposed to declare him and his followers outlaws; and after a stormy scene the deputies were driven from the hall by the grenadiers.

other occasions of a similar character, was known as the *plébiscite* (another term smacking of the days of the Roman republic), and by it the people were allowed to vote *yes* or *no*, without comment, upon propositions carefully prepared beforehand by those in authority. It might have been termed a

**The Plébiscite**

form of referendum had the proposals originated with the representatives of the people themselves.

**Transformation  
of the Consulate  
into the Empire**

Bonaparte had not been in power long before he submitted to the people the question as to whether the term of the first consul should not be for life. Still later he submitted his final proposal, that he be created Emperor of the French people. Each of these changes involved modifications in the existing government, but not one of these was serious enough to give rise to any disturbance of the existing order. When Bonaparte undertook to set France in order in 1799, many of the royalists had misinterpreted his purpose. They had expected him to play the rôle of another Monk, using his sword to bring back the exiled Bourbons as Monk had used his to restore the exiled Stuarts. They were soon undeceived. His ideal seems to have been the inauguration of a form of benevolent despotism for France with himself as the despot. There were probably many reasons which prompted Bonaparte to the final step by which he made himself Emperor, not the least of which was his far-reaching ambition, especially his desire for glory and his delight in the working out of big problems. He looked upon himself as a second Charlemagne, who was destined to confer upon all western Europe the benefits of the French Revolution, even as the great hero of the Middle Ages had conferred upon it the blessings of peace and unity.

**73. The Work of Peace.** — Bonaparte saw the need of a speedy and satisfactory solution of several domestic problems which had long torn France asunder and had proved serious obstacles to the realization of that peace and prosperity which, in deference to the people's demands, he was so anxious to establish. Although he regarded himself as entirely outside the domain of religion and morals, time and again he declared that no state could be permanent that was not grounded upon an established church. He sought to put an end to the strife between the clergy and the government by opening negotiations with the Pope for a settlement of these controversies. Bonaparte was by

no means desirous of restoring the church to a position where it might prove a possible rival to his own authority. Accordingly, he secured the assent of the Pope to the Concordat of 1801, an arrangement under which church and state worked together, not always harmoniously, it is true, until its repeal in 1905. The Catholic Church renounced its claims upon the lands which had been wrested from it ten years before and was again recognized as the state church. No church dignitaries were to be appointed without the consent of Bonaparte, who retained in his own hands the power of nomination. The government recognized the jurisdiction and headship of the Pope over the French church, but the church in France retained its essentially national character. By a series of "organic articles" which Bonaparte added to the Concordat, the publication of papal bulls and the holding of councils were forbidden without the authority of the government.

**The Concordat**

There were other problems of domestic administration pressing for solution. Bonaparte completed the work of reorganizing the system of local government under which so much of disorder and turmoil had been possible, replacing the older governing bodies with a series of officials to whom were assigned well-defined areas to administer. The lower officials answered to others of higher rank placed over them, all authority finally centring in the head of the state. It was in reality an application of the principle of military organization to the civil government. The preservation of the essential features of this system to our own day attests its success.

**Administrative Reforms**

Bonaparte completed much of the work begun by the Convention. In a remarkably short time he had systematized the laws of France and drawn up various codes, the most important being the Civil Code. The work was so well done that it forms the basis of the French legal system of today. The influence of these changes may be traced in the legal codes of several other European States. He also put the finishing touches upon the French educational system by the creation of the

**Law**

**Education**

University of France, by which all the public schools of the empire were made a part of one great organization and were directed in all their work by the central government. These changes were also a part of the enduring work of the Napoleonic era.

**The Legion of Honor**

Bonaparte also established the Legion of Honor, an organization through which those serving the state in any capacity might receive recognition from the government for work of conspicuous merit. It served, too, as did so many of Bonaparte's arrangements, to bind the people the more closely to himself and made it appear that he alone was the great source of honor and advancement.

**Public Works**

In various ways Bonaparte encouraged trade and industry. He won the support of the peasants and the small landholders by placing them in secure possession of their lands. The titles to these had been none too secure as the result of the many changes through which the country had passed. He also undertook great public works, such as beautifying Paris by monuments and parks and the construction of beautiful avenues. He built great roads along natural highways and improved others which had fallen into disuse or had been neglected. He established the Bank of France as a means of maintaining the credit of the country and of furthering international trading operations. This institution was modelled upon the famous Bank of England. To his credit must be placed the final successful solution of the financial problems which had taxed the resources of a Necker and a Calonne and a score of other financiers and had been fearfully complicated by the issues of great quantities of *assignats*.

**The Bank of France****Schemes for Colonial Empire****Louisiana**

His plans for restoring to the French people the prestige which had once been theirs as a great colonial power are of special interest, not alone for the breadth of view which they illustrate but for their bearing upon the future of North and South America. He forced Spain to transfer the Louisiana territory to France with a view to developing its vast resources and making it a great outlet for French industry and French enterprise.

But the course of events in Europe, particularly the outbreak of war with England in 1803, prompted him to abandon these grandiose schemes and he transferred the title to the United States for \$15,000,000, as the possession of this sum at the time outweighed any considerations of the future value of the territory as a French colony. In pursuance of the ambitions of the French people he pressed the campaign for the reconquest of the island of Hayti, which had rebelled under the leadership of one of the greatest representatives of the negro race, Toussaint l'Ouverture. He realized when too late the fearful cost of the enterprise, thousands of the best troops of France perishing through the ravages of the deadly climate and at the hands of the infuriated negro population. Favored by projects which demanded the conqueror's entire energies at home, the island soon recovered its independence, setting up the first negro republic in the new world.

**74. The Establishment of Bonaparte's Power in Italy.** — Most of the work just described was completed within the interval between Bonaparte's arrival in France in 1799 and May, 1803. Upon becoming First Consul he felt it to be his task to recover once more the territories which he had won in his memorable Italian campaign of 1796-7. As has already been noted (sec. 71), the tide had begun to turn in favor of the armies of the Directory even before Bonaparte had landed upon French soil. By his great victory of Marengo in Italy and Moreau's victory of Hohenlinden in Germany, he dealt such a blow to the combination known as the Second Coalition (England, Russia, Austria, Turkey, and Naples), which had been formed in his absence, that Austria was glad to sign a treaty of peace, and England, laying aside her arms for the first time after almost ten years of continuous fighting, soon afterwards signed the Treaty of Amiens. The Marengo campaign in Italy was a masterpiece of military strategy. Bonaparte struck successive blows at his enemies when they least expected it and showed himself the greatest general in Europe. By the treaty with

Hayti

The Second  
Italian  
CampaignMarengo and  
Hohenlinden



**Results**

Austria (Peace of Lunéville, 1801), Italy was practically placed under French domination. The Cisalpine republic was reestablished, but was soon transformed into the Italian republic under the presidency of Bonaparte; Austria recognized the Helvetic

republic, which had been formed in Switzerland under French auspices a few years before, and the Batavian republic, which had been created in the same fashion out of Holland. The French also established themselves in the fortresses of the Kingdom of Naples and consequently held sway throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula. This reestablishment of the power of France in Italy marks the beginning of a series of changes which made Bonaparte master and dictator of Europe.

**Power  
of Bonaparte  
in Italy**

THE PASSAGE OF THE ALPS

Bonaparte crossing the Alps by the Great Saint Bernard Pass on his second Italian campaign in 1800. His men are dragging the cannon over some of the difficult places to the music of a band stationed by the road.

**Peace  
of Amiens**

**75. Bonaparte and England.** — When, exhausted by the strain of war, England signed the Treaty of Amiens, her far-sighted

statesmen recognized that they had merely concluded a temporary peace. Bonaparte was prompted to lay aside hostilities for the time being, that he might the better prepare for the struggle which he knew could not be long delayed or deferred. The power of France had grown too great for the security of England. The situation might be compared with that which prevailed in Europe in the days of Louis XIV. No sooner was

the treaty signed than the English began to suspect the First Consul of bad faith, and they therefore refused to carry out one of the conditions imposed by the treaty, namely the surrender of the island of Malta. Bonaparte also showed himself very sensitive to the comments which appeared in the English newspapers. With the strained relations which existed it was not a difficult matter to bring about an open rupture. The English merchants and manufacturers undoubtedly welcomed the peace in the hope that it would mean new markets for their wares in France and the French dependencies, but in this they were doomed to disappointment, as Bonaparte showed no desire of opening up France to English merchandise. His policy was rather the opposite, to surround her with a Chinese wall of exclusion so far as trade regulations were concerned.

**Dissatisfaction  
with the Peace**

It has been often said, and with much truth, that it was England's persistent hostility that brought about the destruction of all Bonaparte's schemes and effected his final downfall. The English people certainly exhibited in a remarkable manner the bull-dog tenacity characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon in the long struggle which now opened in 1803 and which was only to close upon the battle-field of Waterloo in 1815 after weary years of fighting. In this phase of the war and in the earlier struggles with the French republic, the island empire was forced to meet every kind of an attack. The efforts which the French had already launched against her through Ireland in 1796 and through Egypt in 1798 had proved unsuccessful. Bonaparte now tried or rather planned a direct invasion. He began massing troops at Boulogne and gathering transports preparatory to conveying them across the Channel. The Channel, although narrow, is a choppy bit of water and exceedingly difficult to cross even in time of peace. Bonaparte felt that he must have command of the Channel long enough to land his troops, and with this end in view he planned a series of manoeuvres with the joint French and Spanish fleets. These plans, however, came to naught, and in 1805 the English fleet under Lord

**Renewal  
of Hostilities**

**The Camp  
at Boulogne**

**Trafalgar, 1805** Nelson encountered the combined fleets off Cape Trafalgar on the Spanish coast. In the battle which followed almost the entire French fleet was destroyed. England was now more than ever mistress of the seas, but the battle of Trafalgar



NELSON

Nelson in his cabin on H. M. S. Victory before the battle of Trafalgar. From the painting by Orchard.

was Nelson's last exploit, as he was killed in the action. It was on the eve of this battle that Nelson issued the famous order to his men, "England expects every man to do his duty."

Before treating the further progress of this duel with England, it is necessary to note the assumption of the imperial title by the First Consul. Directly following the Peace of Amiens, it was proposed to extend his consulship for life. This proposal was submitted to a popular vote and three million and a half favored

it, while only eight thousand were unfavorable. The government was made more absolute. About this time plots against Napoleon's life were discovered, and in the face of a new European war, it was considered necessary to show the confidence which France felt in him by bestowing upon him a higher title than any he had hitherto borne. Accordingly, in 1804, the title of Napoleon I, Emperor of the French, was conferred upon him. From this time on he was known as Napoleon. His coronation was very spectacular.

**76. Extension of Napoleon's Power over Central Europe.** — Developments upon the continent had already modified Napo-

leon's plan of invading England. The Tsar had joined with Austria against Napoleon, and England had promised substantial financial assistance. Although it was understood that Prussia would join the alliance, she failed to act with them. Napoleon



THE CORONATION OF NAPOLEON

Napoleon is here shown taking the crown from the hands of the Pope and placing it upon his own head, thus declaring himself above the power of the Church.

had been negotiating with her ruler and had purchased his neutrality with the bait of George III's Electorate of Hanover. This combination of Russia, England, and Austria was known as the Third Coalition against France and had been brought about largely through the labors of William Pitt the Younger,

Formation  
of the  
Third Coalition

the English prime minister, who expected great things from it. The Austrians placed two armies in the field and counted upon reinforcements from Russia before they should come to blows with Napoleon. The latter acted with characteristic promptness and energy, and before the Austrians and Russians were able to join forces he inflicted a severe defeat upon the Austrians at Ulm. Two months later he encountered the combined forces with such success at Austerlitz (1805) that the Emperor Francis humbly begged for an interview with the victor to arrange terms of peace. Austerlitz has been called the finest battle in history — a model combat. It was a decisive victory, and Austria was completely overthrown. Pitt was so disappointed over the outcome of his efforts that he is said to have exclaimed "Roll up the map of Europe; it will not be wanted these ten years." He did not long survive the shock, as he died in January, 1806.

Ulm  
and Austerlitz

Reorganization  
of Germany  
and Changes  
in Italy

Napoleon was given a free hand to make any arrangements which he might choose for central Europe. He now assumed the rôle of a modern Charlemagne. Within the next six months he had made four kings; had transferred Hanover to Prussia; had cut down the states of Germany from three hundred and sixty to eighty-two; had abolished the Holy Roman Empire altogether; and had formed out of the states along the Rhine a confederation under his presidency (The Confederation of the Rhine). By the terms of the Treaty of Pressburg which Austria signed with Napoleon, valuable territories on the Adriatic were ceded to France. By these cessions Austria lost control of the routes to the Adriatic, to Italy, and down the valley of the Rhine. Napoleon conferred the title of king upon the Electors of Bavaria and of Wurtemberg for "the attachment which they had displayed to the Emperor"; transformed the Batavian republic into the Kingdom of Holland, making his brother Louis its ruler; and seized the kingdom of Naples, bestowing the crown upon his brother Joseph.

Napoleon's mastery of Europe, however, was speedily chal-

lenged, and before the year 1806 had passed a Fourth Coalition was formed against him consisting this time of England, Prussia, and Russia. The king of Prussia, Frederick William III, had shown throughout this period an indecision and a vacillation which had made him an uncertain factor to be reckoned with. Napoleon had handled him so skilfully that he was in danger of being completely isolated and of being forced to act alone in his dealings with France. He had held off from participation in the Austrian campaign. Napoleon, however, had shown himself in reality so antagonistic to Prussian interests that Frederick William at last decided that the interests of Prussia demanded war with Napoleon. Prussia had reasons enough for placing obstacles in the path of Napoleon, but the hesitation of her ruler led to her undoing. Napoleon again proved himself a master of the art of war, and in the two battles of Auerstaedt and Jena (1806) inflicted upon the Prussians such a terrible defeat that within a month after the campaign had opened there was not a vestige remaining of the great Prussian army which had gone out against him. Jena was a terrible blow to the military prestige so long enjoyed by Prussia. The king showed himself a cowardly poltroon, taking refuge in the one province remaining to him and writing to one of his ministers to see to it that Napoleon was well taken care of in such of the royal palaces as he should choose for his residence, and requesting that he make the necessary drafts upon the Prussian treasury to meet the expense. Napoleon made a triumphal entry into Berlin and exacted an oath from all the officials and functionaries of the kingdom to "contribute with all their forces for the execution of the measures which should be prescribed to them for the service of the French army and not to enter into any correspondence or communication with their enemies." They one and all sought to outdo each other in their show of submission and weakness.

**The Fourth Coalition**

**Attitude of Prussia**

**Jena and the Humiliation of Prussia**

**77. Napoleon's Power at its Height.** — Napoleon now pressed on against the Russians, but found in them a much more stubborn foe. Although he claimed the battle of Eylau as a victory

**Napoleon and Russia  
Eylau**

because the Russian army retired from the field, — a move which Napoleon himself seriously contemplated but which the Russian general was the first actually to execute, — nothing was gained by the combat. The battle was fought in a blinding snowstorm and was one of the bloodiest of the Napoleonic epoch. One fifth of the forces engaged were either killed or wounded. Napoleon did not resume military operations against the Russians until the spring, and in June, 1807, won such a decisive victory at Friedland that the Tsar sued for peace. The two emperors, the one of the East and the other of the West, arranged a meeting on a raft at Tilsit in the river Niemen on June 16, 1807. The King of Prussia was not admitted to their deliberations, but it was he who paid the expenses of the war, for by the terms to which they agreed he was deprived of his new acquisition Hanover and, in addition, of all territories which he possessed upon the left bank of the Elbe and all that Prussia had taken from Poland in the second and third partitions of that unfortunate country. These terms were granted him, Napoleon intimated, “out of consideration for His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.” The two emperors were apparently very much attracted to each other. Each set out to win the confidence of the other and succeeded so well that the Tsar recognized all that Napoleon had done in the West and Napoleon in turn assured his new friend that he should have a perfectly free hand in the East. The Tsar was to offer England his mediation and attack her on his ally’s behalf if she did not accept it; while, on the other hand, Napoleon was to render the Tsar a like service, offering the Turks, who were at war with Russia, his mediation. In the event of their refusal he promised to attack them and to dismember their empire.

Napoleon now completed the changes which he had set on foot in Germany by forming the kingdom of Westphalia out of the lands taken from Prussia, intrusting it to his brother Jerome, and by conferring upon the Elector of Saxony the title of King, intrusting to him the Grand Duchy of Warsaw which he had formed from Prussian Poland.

Friedland

Meeting  
at Tilsit

Completion  
of the  
Reorganization  
of Germany



FRIEDLAND

This spirited battle picture by Meissonier, the great French painter, shows the enthusiasm of the French troops for their beloved Emperor as they swing into a charge at the battle of Friedland. Napoleon is seated on his famous white charger.



**Extent of  
Napoleon's  
Power**

**Napoleon's  
Designs upon  
Spain**

**Weakness  
of Spain**

**Attitude of the  
French People  
towards  
Napoleon**

The Treaty of Tilsit marks the height of Napoleon's power. With the possible exception of Spain, his influence was supreme from the Straits of Gibraltar in the West to the dominions of the Turk in the East, and from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. Although Spain had been planning an attack upon Napoleon in 1806, the outcome of the Jena campaign dampened somewhat her martial ardor and these plans were speedily abandoned. Napoleon had already determined upon the ruin of the Spanish Bourbons, for he had learned of Spain's proposed defection from correspondence found in the Prussian capital. He had not as yet set about to accomplish it. His power, however, was recognized throughout the peninsula even though it had not yet fallen under his transforming hand. His disposal of Louisiana in 1803 is a clear indication of the subservient rôle which Spain had been playing for some time past under her weak ruler, Charles IV. The one great power which still refused to acknowledge his sway was England, and Napoleon now set himself to the great task of securing its overthrow. He had not only France to draw upon, with all its wealth and resources, but Europe as well.

**78. The Influence of the Napoleonic Régime.** — The influence of the Napoleonic régime, as it might be called, now began to show itself both upon France and upon Europe. Napoleon had time and again remarked at the outset of his career that what the French people wanted was glory. He had insisted that the love of glory was with Frenchmen a sixth sense. He had played upon this string so persistently that by 1807 his hearers were beginning to weary somewhat of the strain. In his earlier campaigns he had done much to restore France to her position of honor and respect among the nations, but it was no longer possible to see in the manifold schemes of Napoleon the Emperor the advantage of the French nation. The bitter warfare which he waged with England, which became the more bitter with every passing year, was regarded by many as highly detrimental to the best interests of France. England had

already entered upon that great industrial era in her history which made her the workshop of Europe (sec. 86 ff.) and her control of the seas made it difficult for the French people to secure many of the articles from the East and from America to which they had so long been accustomed. With the passage of time the feeling became stronger that Napoleon's enterprises were dictated with an eye primarily to the glory and advancement of a single man rather than to that of the French nation which he pretended to serve.

On the other hand, in spite of the splendid services which Napoleon had rendered France in completing and rounding out the work begun in the days of the Revolution, there was now to be detected in much that he did a strain of absolutism, a desire to bend the people to his will. Liberty of the press and of speech had entirely disappeared. Reverence for the emperor was not only taught in the schools but formed a part of the catechism of the state church. A thoroughly centralized bureaucratic administration had replaced the more democratic forms of government which had existed in the early days of the Revolution, and, with the increased importance attached to the court and to the services rendered to the person of the emperor, all individual initiative seemed at an end. The plans which Napoleon sought to carry out from this time forward emphasized more than ever the great change which had taken place in his relations to the French people.

Growth of  
Absolutism

Although Napoleon by his supremacy in Europe had been able to confer upon some of the most backward communities many of the blessings of the Revolution and a law, order, and system entirely foreign to them under their exiled rulers and administrators, here again he ignored altogether the wishes of the governed and failed on almost every occasion to take them into his confidence. His attitude was very much like that of the benevolent despot of the earlier period, but there was this marked difference — the administrators whom he placed over the conquered or annexed territories were in most cases for-

Europe  
and Napoleon

eigners, aliens to the people over whom they were set to govern. In spite, therefore, of the benefits which he conferred of good laws, good roads, an efficient police, and the like, the great empire which he had reared rested in reality upon a foundation of sand likely at any moment to collapse into a mighty ruin.

**79. The Nationalist Reaction Against Napoleon.** — It was not the rulers of Europe, not primarily the persistent opposition of England, which brought Napoleon's power to an end, but the people themselves, whose wishes he failed to consult and whose opposition in an evil day he finally aroused. He brought this hornet's nest about his ears in the supreme effort which he now put forth to crush England. This scheme had begun to take shape in 1806, but it was really launched in all its vigor after he had secured the coöperation of the Tsar Alexander in that memorable interview on the Russian frontier in June, 1807. The plan was to sap England's strength by cutting off her commercial intercourse with the rest of the world and particularly her traffic with Europe. Napoleon now had the continent sufficiently under his control to feel that he could effectively close all its ports to English merchandise and to English vessels. While in Berlin, just after the Jena campaign, he issued the Berlin Decree, proclaiming all the ports of England in a state of blockade, forbidding trade in English and colonial wares and excluding from French and allied ports any ship that had touched at those of Great Britain. This marked the beginning of the so-called continental blockade or continental system. England immediately retaliated with Orders in Council, forbidding all neutrals to trade between France and her allies or between ports that observed the Berlin Decree. Napoleon came back at England in the Milan Decree, by which any neutral vessel obeying this order should be regarded as denationalized and be treated as an English vessel. The United States was the worst sufferer by these orders, and the trade of New England was well-nigh ruined in the commercial warfare which followed. The right of search, which was exercised most rigorously by England

Attempts to  
crush England

The Berlin  
Decree

Orders  
in Council

Milan Decree

in the period which followed, and her control of the sea, which enabled her to enforce her decrees, finally brought the United States to the point of war with England, the War of 1812. It was not England which became the worst sufferer in this contest for mastery, but rather France and Europe. The situation had been bad enough before, as it had been exceedingly difficult to procure the necessities which only England and America could supply. Prices now began to soar even higher as a result of the blockade, and France was so hard put to it to secure the necessary cloth and colonial products that Napoleon relaxed somewhat the rigors of the blockade by issuing licenses to a favored few to bring in some of the more needed articles.

With the twofold object of securing a firmer control of Spain and Portugal for the enforcement of these decrees and of extending his direct control over western Europe by a system of dependent kingdoms, Napoleon undertook through craft and force to displace the Bourbons from the Spanish throne and to annex Portugal (1808). His ambition to extend his sway and to enlarge the empire over which he ruled seemed to know no bounds. "I may find the Pillars of Hercules in Spain, but I shall not find the limits of my power," was his remark on one occasion. The attempt to accomplish these two objects opened the way for his downfall. His efforts to cut off Portuguese trade with England and annex the country met with some success at the outset. The same was true of Spain. The Portuguese royal family fled to their American possessions in Brazil; the Spanish Bourbons were forced to abdicate, and their title was conferred upon Napoleon's brother Joseph. These were but temporary successes. The English government saw the wisdom of making common cause with the Spanish and Portuguese and began throwing armies into the peninsula and supplying officers and money to the native population, who showed everywhere the bitterest hostility to the effort to establish French rule. The French armies were speedily forced out of Portugal. In Spain the struggle was much more protracted, lasting almost to the

Right of Search  
and War of 1812

Napoleon's  
Idea of  
Universal  
Monarchy

Portugal

Resistance  
of Spain

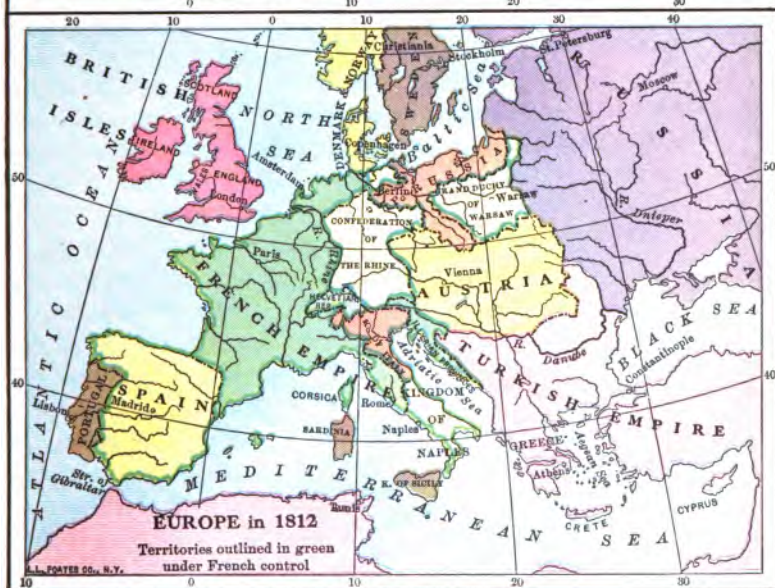
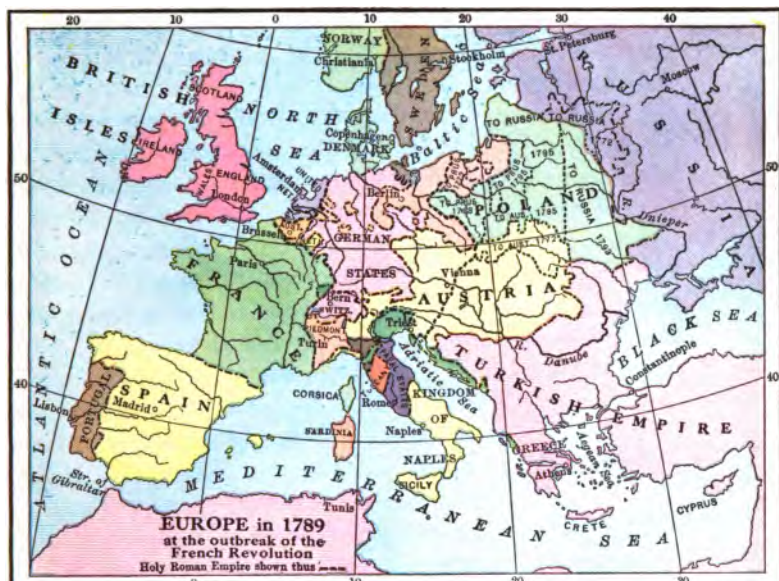
end of the Napoleonic period. The new king of Spain, however, soon abandoned his unwilling subjects. Although Napoleon had set on foot there reforms such as the abolition of the Inquisition and the equalization of taxation, removing burdens which rested most heavily upon the common people, they showed no gratitude to their would-be benefactor, but, encouraged by their priests, set on foot guerilla warfare throughout the length and breadth of the land. Favored by the rugged nature of the country, they made it impossible for the French armies to secure any permanent foothold or effect any true conquest. Some of the best soldiers of the Empire were sacrificed in the vain effort to subdue the land and retain its allegiance. Although Napoleon never really abandoned the enterprise and even undertook in person a campaign in Spain, all his efforts failed to achieve any permanent result. The tide had already turned and his power

**The Peninsular  
War**

was gradually slipping away. This long-drawn-out campaign was known as the Peninsular War. England sent over some of her very best generals, among them Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterward known as the Duke of Wellington. Step by step he overcame the almost insurmountable obstacles placed in his path by his own "incompetent government and by jealous, exacting, and slipshod allies."

Although Austria had already been beaten by Napoleon in three campaigns, in the spring of 1809 her emperor again determined to try issues with Napoleon, seeking to recover the power and territory which had been ruthlessly taken from him. Developments in Spain, especially the stubbornness of the resistance there, prompted him to the step. Then, too, a new spirit had appeared in Austria, the spirit of national opposition. The struggle with Napoleon was no longer an affair of the ruler but of the people themselves, who began to feel the shame and disgrace of foreign control. At Aspern Napoleon was again victorious, but this time the Austrians acquitted themselves so well that Europe began to think that Napoleon had finally met his match. Their hopes were speedily dashed to the ground seven

**The Revolt  
of Austria**





weeks later in the battle of Wagram. It was no such decisive conflict as Austerlitz, but Austria made peace, and when, in furtherance of his ambitions for a Napoleonic dynasty, Napoleon asked the hand of the Archduchess Marie Louise, the Emperor, her father, dared not say him nay. The battle of Wagram, therefore seemed to confirm the impression that Napoleon's hold upon Europe was permanent. Before marrying this Austrian princess, Napoleon had secured a divorce from the Empress Josephine, and the episode of his parting with Josephine is perhaps the most pathetic in his entire career. A son was born to the emperor in 1811, who was forthwith crowned King of Rome and was designated as the heir to the throne. All Napoleon's hopes seemed about to be realized. He had not yet grasped the true significance of the situation in the peninsula. Later in life he acknowledged that it was the Spanish situation which destroyed him. ("It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me.")

**Wagram****Napoleon's  
Dynastic  
Ambitions  
and Marriage**

#### **80. The Moscow Campaign and the War of Liberation. —**

There had been for some time signs of disaffection on the part of the Tsar. Napoleon had felt it necessary in the Congress of Erfurt (1808) to go over some of their differences just before the Austrian campaign in order to hold him to his alliance. The Tsar felt the pressure of the Continental System and began to see that Russia was playing into the hands of Napoleon rather than conserving her own interests. He had looked with manifest disapproval upon Napoleon's creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1807 and was fearful of the results for Russian Poland of the hopes which Napoleon had held out to the Polish nation. Finally in 1812 the break came. Napoleon had long felt its inevitableness, but he thought himself ready to meet it. Gathering together a vast host which included the veteran forces which had served him so splendidly in his earlier campaigns, he planned an invasion of Russia which should be carried out with all the swiftness and decisiveness of his campaigns in Italy, in Germany, and in Austria. He failed, however, to recognize the fact that he was now face to face with a veritable giant, so loosely

**Hostility of  
the Tsar**



**The Invasion  
of Russia**

organized that any blow which he might deal in one part of its frame would scarcely be felt beyond the immediate surface with which he came in contact. With his superb army of half a million men he crossed the Russian frontier and marched straight on to Moscow. The Russian armies refused battle, falling back before him and laying waste the country as they retreated. Napoleon finally reached his goal, but found that his success had counted for but little. The Russians not only evacuated the city but set it on fire. After spending some time in fruitless negotiations and finding no way open to him to bring the Russians to terms, as the winter was now coming on, Napoleon decided to retreat. It was already October and 700 miles had to be covered before the French army would find itself again upon friendly soil. The Russian winter was soon upon them in all its severity. Then began one of the worst and most disastrous retreats in history. Harassed by the Cossack cavalry, benumbed and freezing with the cold, passing through a country already ravaged by hostile armies, only a remnant of his forces finally found their way back across the frontier.

**Retreat  
from Moscow**

Meanwhile Napoleon's former enemies in the West had not been idle. The Prussian ministers, Stein and Scharnhorst, were statesmen of a different stripe from their faint-hearted master, and they had been busy preparing their country for a moment like this, when they might engage in battle with Napoleon upon a footing of equality. A new spirit had laid hold of the Prussian people. They now began to rebel against the requisitions made upon them and upon their land by their conquerors. Their spirit was shared by the German peoples farther west. The yoke of the conqueror had for some time borne heavily upon them, and the apathy which they had shown heretofore over the changes in their rulers was now replaced by eager preparations for their expulsion. This is the period made famous by such outbursts of patriotic ardor as the poems of Arndt and inspiring hymns like "What is the German's Fatherland?" Patriotic societies, such as the Burschen-

**The  
Reawakening  
of Prussia  
and Germany**

schaft, were formed by the students in the universities, who pledged themselves to die for king and fatherland. Napoleon's hour had now struck. Western Europe arose under its rulers as one man, and Napoleon soon after his return from Russia found himself confronted by the armies of Austria, Prussia, Spain, and England. Thus began the so-called War of Liberation.

With his characteristic energy he immediately took the field, but he had no such troops in these new levies as had followed him into the heart of Russia. Nor was Napoleon the same energetic, resourceful commander as of yore. He showed more irresolution and less of that cool calculation which had secured for him his former successes. Although he was successful in some of the minor battles which now followed, he met with an overwhelming defeat upon the battlefield of Leipsic. This was known as the "battle of the nations," and one of the results was the carrying of the war into French territory. For the first time in many years invading armies camped upon French soil. Napoleon put forth superhuman efforts to stem the tide, but he was finally forced to sign his abdication at Fontainebleau and was assigned the island of Elba as his principality with the title of Emperor and an annual income of 2,000,000 francs. The exiled Bourbons were immediately restored in the person of a younger brother of the dead Louis XVI, who took the title of Louis XVIII. A general European Congress was also called to straighten out the various tangles resulting from Napoleon's transformation of Europe (The Congress of Vienna).

Leipsic,  
the "Battle  
of the Nations"

Abdication  
of Napoleon

Congress of  
Vienna

**81. The Hundred Days and Waterloo.** — Napoleon was not content to settle down in his new sovereignty. Discontent in France and reports of a lack of harmony between the states represented at Vienna seemed to present the opportunity for which he was waiting. On Feb. 25, 1815, he made his escape to France, and from the moment of his landing he was received with the same wild enthusiasm which had marked his return from Egypt years before. A force of soldiers sent out to capture

Napoleon's  
Return from  
Elba

him threw down their arms at the sight of the Little Corporal, as he was affectionately called, and followed in his train. The peasant population also accorded him a warm welcome. King Louis XVIII fled at the news of his reception, and again Europe took up arms against its former master.

Waterloo

The struggle was waged upon the plains of Belgium, and there the issue was decided. Napoleon's army engaged the forces of the English and Prussians under the command of Wellington and Blücher at Waterloo. The battle raged from noon until late in the evening. The timely arrival of the Prussian army upon the battle-field where the English forces had long and bravely borne the shock of the French attack turned the tide of battle, and Napoleon left Waterloo a defeated and vanquished man. He had played his last card and lost. He threw himself upon the generosity of the English, thinking perhaps to find a refuge in that land of exiles. He was condemned instead to life imprisonment upon the island of St. Helena, and there he worried out his remaining years, dying on the 5th of May, 1821.

Exile to  
St. Helena

The Great  
Powers

**82. The Congress of Vienna and the Reconstruction of Europe.** — Meanwhile the nations which had defeated Napoleon, in the persons of their rulers and representatives, were wrestling in the Congress at Vienna with the problems involved in the reconstruction of Europe. The dominant powers were England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. France also had her representative there in the person of Talleyrand, probably the most able diplomat of his time. He had already seen many years of service under various masters, including Napoleon himself. Several objects were sought in the arrangements which were made. The first was to thoroughly curb France and to hold her in check by strengthening the states upon her northern frontiers. This was accomplished by uniting Holland and Belgium into a single state and by establishing Prussia again in the control of her Rhenish provinces. The boundaries of France were reduced to those which she possessed before the outbreak of the Revolu-

Objects sought

Boundaries  
of France

tion. Great difficulties were encountered in adjusting the claims of Prussia and Austria. In settling their differences the boundaries of the two states were somewhat changed from what they had been in 1789. The Prussian territories were more consolidated and Austria was given more of an

Arrangements  
for Germany



ON THE WAY TO ST. HELENA

This picture shows Napoleon on the English ship Bellerophon on his way to St. Helena, where he was banished by the English government in 1815.

outlet upon the Adriatic. The various states of Germany were brought together in a loose confederation under the leadership of Austria and Prussia, and Italy was again restored to approximately the condition in which it had been at the outbreak of the Revolution. Like Germany, it was merely "a geographical expression." The hopes of a united country which had been aroused in the breasts of German patriots were cruelly shattered. The Italians had already experienced keen disappointment when Napoleon, at the outset of his career, had

Italy

failed to fulfill their expectations of a united kingdom. These arrangements therefore did not come home to them with the same force as was the case with the people of Germany. The two Scandinavian states of Norway and Sweden were united under the king of Sweden, a step comparable to that taken with Holland and Belgium, but not carried out with the same object. Norway had been taken from Denmark as the penalty for the latter's loyalty to Napoleon and was united with Sweden to compensate the Northern kingdom for the loss of Finland. England received or was confirmed in the possession of certain colonial territories which had been seized in the long struggle with France, notably Malta, the Ionian Islands, Cape Colony, Ceylon, British Guiana, and the Isle de France. Her gains seemed quite inadequate to the sacrifices which she had made, but are to be explained partly by the crusade in England against the slave trade, which had so gripped the people that the English representatives were instructed to secure certain agreements from the states of Europe directed against this nefarious traffic.

**Norway  
and Sweden**

**Colonial  
Changes**

**Dissatisfaction  
with the Work  
of the Congress**

The arrangements made at Vienna were a disappointment to those who had contributed most to the overthrow of Napoleon — the people themselves. Entirely ignored were the aspirations of the nations themselves or the liberal ideas which had been spread broadcast throughout Europe as the result of the French Revolution. The supreme thought in the minds of the actors at Vienna was to place Europe back where it had been before it was inoculated with the terrible germ of revolution. The era which opened marked therefore a decided reaction from the progress which had been so characteristic of the preceding years. The territorial arrangements of the Congress, however, proved far more lasting than their efforts to efface the remembrance of the glorious days when liberty and equality had been the watchword of all western Europe. With the exception of the formation of the kingdom of Italy and the German Empire, and the separation of Belgium and Holland, it has been only



A MEETING OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1814-15

The Emperor of Austria, Francis I, acted as host. Other rulers present were the Emperor Alexander of Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, and Denmark, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse-Cassel. England was represented by Lord Castlereagh, France by Talleyrand. Metetrnich and Talleyrand were the master spirits at this Congress.

within our own day that these territorial arrangements have been seriously modified.

### SUGGESTIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Describe Bonaparte's life before the Revolution.
2. Give an account of his services to the Convention at Toulon and at Paris.
3. Make a careful study of Bonaparte's campaign in Italy in 1796; in 1800.
4. State and discuss the terms of the Treaty of Campo Formio.
5. Give an account of his Egyptian and Syrian campaigns.
6. Describe the events connected with the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire.
7. Describe the constitution of the Consulate.
8. Discuss the execution of the Duc d'Enghien.
9. Describe the naval operations which led to the battle of Trafalgar.
10. Describe the campaign of Austerlitz.
11. Discuss Napoleon's policy from 1806 to 1808.
12. Discuss the second marriage of Napoleon.
13. Describe the War of Liberation in Germany.
14. Describe the resistance of Spain.
15. Describe Napoleon's life on St. Helena.

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- III. JOSEPHINE.  
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## XIII. THE EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT.

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### SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

1. On an outline map of central Europe show the territorial arrangements in Italy before Napoleon's conquests, and the campaigns of 1796-1805;
2. Show Napoleon's campaign in Egypt and Syria. 3. Show the treaty adjustments of the Treaty of Campo Formio. 4. Show the territorial arrangements of the Peace of Lunéville. 5. On an outline map of Europe show Napoleon's empire at its widest extent. 6. Show the territorial arrangements after the downfall of Napoleon.

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## CHAPTER VII

### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

**83. The Old Manorial System of Agriculture and its Defects.** — While the continent of Europe was being transformed both socially and politically under the influences of the French Revolution, changes no less radical were taking place in England. At one and the same time agriculture and industry were undergoing changes which in the course of time were to produce a deep impress upon the life of Europe. Before the eighteenth century, agricultural methods had changed but little since the middle ages, when the lands of western European countries were divided into the great manors, or estates, on which the peasant cultivated the fields for the lords of the manor. This method of farming was known as the open-field system. The manor was divided into strips of land, each, roughly speaking, the amount that a team could plough in a day. These strips were divided one from another by narrow grass paths called balks. At first each field was cultivated every year, but, as this exhausted the soil, a system was adopted by which two fields were cultivated in any one year and one field lay fallow. The manors themselves, however, had disappeared in many instances. This was essentially the case in England, where the feudal system disappeared much earlier than upon the continent.

One of the principal causes for the breakdown of the manorial system in England was the growth of enclosures. As early as the 13th century, the lords began the practice of enclosing, for private hunting preserves, and later for sheep pastures, all pastures and woods not actually in use by their tenants. Unscrupulous landlords often seized fair fields from their peasant

The Open-  
field System

Gradual  
Breakdown of  
the Manorial  
System:  
Enclosures

cultivators and evicted the latter. Others consolidated their holdings by exchanging those strips that lay far from the manor house for those that lay nearby. Nearly all these enclosures were used as sheep pastures. Towards the close of the fifteenth century a new kind of enclosure was in progress by which ambitious farmers sought to improve the arable land. In these cases "convertible industry," as it was called, took the place of the old threefold rotation of crops. Under this system "pasture land was broken up at intervals by the plough and converted into arable, while the existing arable was rested as pasture."

The growth of enclosures during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries was steady. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it is estimated that two fifths of the arable land of England was enclosed and that about half of the total area was cultivated. The remainder was still spread out in open fields, or in swamp land or thicket. On these a large number of people dragged out a miserable existence by living on the produce of a few cows or sheep. The lack of hedges or fences in these open fields was detrimental to the crops, which were too often exposed to the full sweep of destructive winds. Barley was still the chief grain produced, but oats, wheat, and rye were also staple crops. No little hemp and flax were grown, and when the seventeenth century closed a beginning had been made in the cultivation of potatoes, clover, and turnips. There was already foreshadowed that greater knowledge of animal raising which characterized the agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century. The farm laborer had a few implements which were better than his predecessor

Conditions  
at the Opening  
of the  
Eighteenth  
Century



FARM IMPLEMENTS OF THE 18TH  
CENTURY

Crops

Farm  
Implements

under serfdom had known, among them the wheel plough, drills for sowing, and a cart with very high wheels. Other implements in use were sickles, scythes, pitchforks, rakes, flails, and spades.

**84. Improvements in Methods of Tillage.** — In 1733 there was published in England an epoch-making book on *Husbandry* or agriculture, written by Jethro Tull. It is said that he so far lost patience with his hired help that he set about devising ways and means of dispensing with their services and replacing them with various labor-saving devices. Be that as it may, his suggestions and improvements were so well received that he has been given the credit of having improved agriculture more than any other one person. Realizing that vegetables grew better if the ground was thoroughly pulverized before and after planting the seed, he devised a system of drilling the seed in rows far enough apart to permit of cultivation between them with a horse hoe or cultivating plough. To further this system of planting he invented a drill, or planting machine, which sowed a field more uniformly than the old method of hand-scattering, at the same time using less seed to the acre. Tull's severe criticism of the laziness and lack of responsibility shown by the landlords of his day undoubtedly was one of the causes of the change which took place in the eighteenth century by which farming became the fashion for gentlemen. Another was the interest shown by the Whigs in agriculture in the eighteenth century. This interest influenced profoundly the political development of England in the century when the future history of English-speaking peoples everywhere was being shaped.

In the same decade Charles Townshend, a brother-in-law of Walpole, retired from politics to his farm in Norfolk and began the study of scientific agriculture, with such far-reaching effects upon that branch of industry in England, that Arthur Young, another Englishman of a generation later, could say "Half the County of Norfolk within the memory of man yielded nothing but sheep feed, whereas those very tracts of land are now covered

Jethro Tull

The Horse Hoe  
and Drill

"Turnip"  
Townshend

with as fine barley and rye as any in the world, and great quantities of wheat besides." His two interests were the field cultivation of turnips and an improved rotation of crops. He was so enthusiastic about the former that he was nicknamed "Turnip Townshend." He started the Norfolk, or four-course system of rotation of crops, alternating roots, grasses, and grains, such as turnips, barley, clover and rye grass, and wheat; encouraged the use of fertilizers in the soil; and adopted Tull's system of drilling and horse hoeing turnips. Other landlords followed his example, which resulted in a complete revolution in agricultural crops, methods, and implements.

**Rotation  
of Crops**

According to Arthur Young, the principal improvements in agriculture in the first half of the eighteenth century were a better knowledge of the rotation of crops in order to increase the fertility of the soil and to prevent its exhaustion; the use of covered drains and the irrigation of meadows; the use of artificial as well as an increased use of natural fertilizers; the introduction of new food crops, as rye, beans, turnips and potatoes; and the invention of such useful implements as the drill, the horse hoe, and better harness. In 1793 Young was made Secretary of the newly formed Board of Agriculture, which had been established by the younger Pitt, and his investigations and writings did much to further the progress of this industry.

**Arthur Young**

Side by side with an improvement in agricultural products there went on an important series of investigations into the production of finer specimens of animals. Robert Bakewell (1725-1795) did more to improve live-stock than any other man. He rejected the accepted theory that the blood must be varied by the mixture of breeds. Just as Luther Burbank today in our own country has produced some wonderful fruits and flowers by experimenting with the process of reproduction, so Bakewell mated the best and sturdiest animals, those possessing to the fullest degree the qualities he wished to reproduce and intensify in their offspring, even though closely related. In this way he

**Improvements  
in Cattle and  
Sheep Breeding**

**Robert  
Bakewell**

**Sheep**

produced the Leicester breed of sheep, which in fifty years spread over every part of the civilized world and doubled the amount of mutton on the tables of Englishmen. This breed is described as having a clean-cut head, broad and flat back, barrel-shaped body, thin feet, flesh fat, fine-grained, and well-flavored, heavy and soft wool, and nearly double the weight of the varieties of his day. Bakewell also improved the famous longhorn breed of cows of the Midlands. The new longhorn breed was a very heavy animal and a good beef producer, but died out after a time because it did not produce as much milk as other varieties. Bakewell's principles are still accepted as sound in animal breeding and have led to the production of the various "thoroughbred" stocks of animals.

**The Longhorns****Coke of  
Holkham**

**85. The Revolution in Agriculture.** — About the time of the American Revolution, Coke of Holkham began his work on an estate where, as old Lady Townshend remarked, "All you will see will be one blade of grass and two rabbits fighting for that." By adopting the methods of Tull and Townshend and by discovering the principle that some grass seeds were better adapted for certain kinds of soil than other kinds, he raised larger crops and made many pieces of what had hitherto been waste land into rich pastures. He was largely responsible for the increased production of potatoes and for the improvement and increase in the varieties of grass seeds. Following in the footsteps of Bakewell, he also improved several species of animals. Through his efforts 2,000,000 acres of waste land in England were brought under the plough, and no other man was so instrumental in rendering England self-supporting during the terrible era of war.

**Consolidation  
of Small Farms**

The improved methods of farming gave a great stimulus to the consolidation of small farms into large estates and to the enclosure of what had formerly been waste land, but which was now rendered productive. We have seen that these improvements were largely the work of rich land-owners, such as Tull, Townshend, Bakewell, and Coke. Over 3,500,000 acres were enclosed during the eighteenth century. Agriculture became

"capitalistic," that is, large amounts of capital and land were required for its successful operation. This led to the extinction of the yeoman or small farmer, who had been the backbone of English society in former centuries. The classes of the agricultural population became sharply differentiated into landlords, tenants, and laborers. The first held great estates, consisting of numerous small farms which had been consolidated. The tenants rented these farms of the landlord and employed laborers to cultivate them. England became a great agricultural nation and thus was self-supporting during the long and terrible wars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By the middle of the eighteenth century the landlords were the dominant force in parliament, and by placing duties on the importation of foreign corn and bounties on the export of English, they safeguarded the interests of the agriculturist. "Farming became the reigning taste of the day." George III delighted in the title of Farmer George and wrote on agriculture.

**Disappearance  
of Yeoman  
Class**

**86. The Nature of the Industrial Revolution.** — Closely connected with these changes in agriculture was the so-called Industrial Revolution. The one was really dependent upon the other, as a greater industrial population called for a larger food supply, and improved farm machinery made possible larger and better crops to meet this need. We have seen that the original system of manufacture, in which the workman owned the raw material and carried through all the processes of his trade, had been changed by the introduction of the clothiers or merchant clothiers (sec. 17), who assembled a number of workmen in some one locality and supervised their work. Yet the distinctive feature of manufacturing before the invention of time- and labor-saving machines was that all the workers were obliged to do a certain amount of farming in the cultivation of their home plots of ground. According to Defoe (sec. 17), the workmen under the domestic system led fairly happy lives. Commercial panics were almost unknown; work was regular; the market was steady; closer and more friendly relations prevailed between

**Relation  
between  
the Revolution  
in Agriculture  
and that  
in Industry**

**The Domestic  
System**

**Advantages of  
the Domestic  
System**



employer and employee than are usually found today; and, while there was less total wealth in the country and hence fewer of the luxuries and conveniences which we now have, in the eighteenth century the wealth was more evenly divided among all classes. The current of life moved slower; people did things more leisurely.



THE SPINNING WHEEL

About the time of Queen Elizabeth, the spinning wheel was introduced into general use in England. At first, this device for spinning was very much like the one shown in this illustration. The spinner, seated in front, held in his lap a "bat" or roll of wool, which had previously been "carded" or combed out so that the fibres lay in the same direction. He then twisted the end fibres on to the spindle (s). Next he turned the wheel (w) with his hand. The string or belt (b, b) caused the spindle to revolve as the wheel turned, winding up the "roving" or twisted fibres. With his other hand, the spinner twisted the fibres out of the "bat" to form the "roving." In the eighteenth century, a foot treadle to turn the wheel and another spindle were added, thus enabling the spinner to twist two threads, one with each hand.

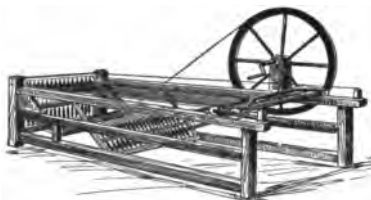
Spinning  
by Distaff  
and Spindle

All this was changed by the Industrial Revolution, the name which has been given to the tremendous changes wrought by new inventions and improved processes, the use of steam power, the perfection of the means of transportation, and the factory system, which now replaced this domestic system with its peculiar advantages. There is neither time nor space to study the inventions in all fields of industry which revolutionized production and influenced history quite as fundamentally as the work of the statesmen and warriors of the same era.

**87. The Revolution in the Manufacture of Textiles.** — The changes in the manufacture of textiles will illustrate what the industrial revolution meant in improved methods and a better product. The dawn of invention in this line found men making cloth substantially as it had been made from the most primitive times.

The earliest device for spinning was the distaff and spindle.

A great step in advance had been made in very early times through the invention of the spinning wheel, in which the spindle was rotated by a wheel, turned by hand or by a foot treadle. But with this machine the spinning process remained stationary until about 1764, when James Hargreaves invented a machine known as the spinning jenny, in which the wheel rotated a number of spindles simultaneously. Thus by the same operator at first eight and, after improvements had been made in the machine, eighty threads could be spun at the same time.

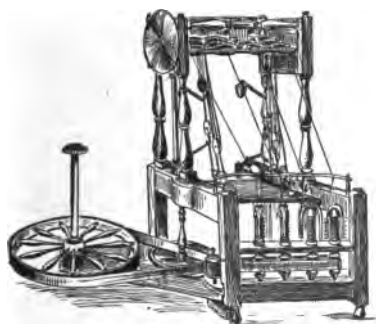


HARGREAVES'S SPINNING JENNY

James  
Hargreaves  
and the Spin-  
ning Jenny

In 1769 Richard Arkwright, an English barber, patented a machine containing two sets of rollers placed somewhat apart from each other. One set of rollers was rotated at a higher speed than the other, and as the woollen fibre, or *roving*, was

Arkwright's  
Water Frame



ARKWRIGHT'S SPINNING FRAME

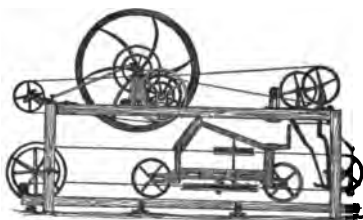
drawn through both sets of rollers, in passing through the swifter pair it was stretched out to the requisite fineness. Arkwright applied water power to drive his machine and thus made it profitable to collect together a number of spinning machines in one building or factory, where that power could be more economically used to drive them all. In this manner he became the founder of the factory system of industry. Arkwright's machine was improved by combining its essential features with Hargreaves's spindle machine, or jenny. This invention, known

## 198 ESSENTIALS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

### Crompton's Mule

as the "mule," was invented by Crompton in 1779, and superseded Arkwright's device.

The enormously increased production of thread was made imperative because of improvements in the process of weaving. Until 1733 cloth had been woven in much the same manner as the little rugs are woven everywhere today by the children in our elementary schools in their courses in manual training. The



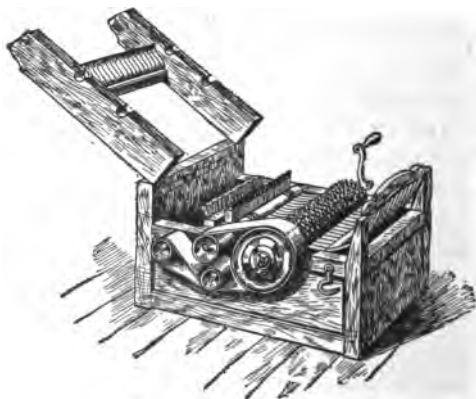
CROMPTON'S MULE

### Older Method of Weaving

process of interlacing the cross-threads, or weft, between the threads of the warp was accomplished slowly, with the shuttle or needle held in the hand of the operator. In the year men-

### Kay's Shuttle

tioned a North of England weaver named Kay devised an attachment to the loom in which the shuttle was driven back and forth through the warp by means of a lever controlled by the operator. This flying shuttle enormously increased the speed of the weaving process and so furnished a demand for a greater supply of thread. This demand turned the minds of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton toward the improvement of spin-



WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN

In this first model of the cotton gin, note the cylinder studded with nails; the teeth against which these nails impinge. The power was applied by the crank.

ning, as described above. As inventions in the field of spinning multiplied, the production of yarn soon outdistanced the capacity of the hand-looms until 1785, when a clergyman named Edmund Cartwright patented a loom whose action was entirely automatic and driven by power.

**Cartwright's  
Power Loom**

Up to this time the production of cotton cloth in England was meagre, owing to the high cost of preparing cotton-wool for spinning. In the cotton plant the fibres are matted around the seeds, and but five pounds of the raw cotton could be laboriously cleaned of the seeds in a day by a workman. In 1792 Eli Whitney, a Connecticut school teacher, while visiting in Georgia invented a machine, which he named an engine, or gin, for shredding the fibres loose from the seeds. This increased by two hundred per cent the production of the raw material for cotton cloth, and America now took the lead as the cotton-producing country.



**Eli Whitney's  
Cotton Gin**

**ELI WHITNEY**

Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton gin, a Yale graduate, spent some time on a cotton plantation on the Savannah River, where he invented the cotton gin. He later removed to New Haven and engaged in the manufacture of fire-arms.

Prior to this time, most of the cotton cloth used in Europe had been very expensive, as it was necessary to import it from India, whence the name calico, or calico, from the city of Calicut. French artisans had colored the calico with designs inked on by hand with wooden blocks. Before treating the cloth thus, it was necessary to bleach it by spreading it out on the grass, or at least exposing it to the sun's rays, for several months. It was now discovered that chlorine would bleach the fabric in a few days and that the

**Use of  
Chlorine**

**Printing  
by Machinery**

cloth could be printed by running it through inked rollers, an invention which was prophetic of our great newspaper presses of today. For all these reasons the production of woollen and cotton fabrics was enormously increased.

**88. Improvements in the Iron Industry and in Pottery. —****Charcoal  
Smelting**

The iron industry was revolutionized in a similar manner. Before the use of coal, iron smelting was accomplished by heating it with charcoal under the blast from a large bellows worked by hand. To smelt a ton of iron required two loads of charcoal. As each load of charcoal called for two tons of wood to produce it, the smelting industry was limited by the wood supply and was carried on at small forges chiefly in the south of England. Coal had been mined for hundreds of years, but the process of smelting by coal did not become available until 1750.

**Use of Coal****Smeaton's  
Blast Furnace**

In 1760 Smeaton invented the blast furnace, in which air is forced into the fire by a cylindrical blower, instead of by the clumsy bellows, and in 1790 steam power, another cause of this industrial transformation, was applied to drive the blast. In this interval the production of iron was quadrupled, and a process was invented for working the iron into bars by the use of rollers instead of forge hammers. Wrought iron is tougher than cast iron because the carbon and other impurities found in the latter have been burned off, but it lacks the hardness which makes it capable of cutting and shaping nearly every other known material. The discovery of such a material, at once able to cut and shape itself as well, was an important step in the progress of civilization. This material, steel, was known and valued for centuries before it became possible to produce it in sufficient quantities for commercial purposes. Steel was first made by heating wrought iron in contact with charcoal until it had absorbed about one per cent of carbon. This process was first attempted on a commercial scale by Darby, who threw bags of nearly pure carbon into the molten iron and stirred the mass until the iron absorbed the carbon and steel

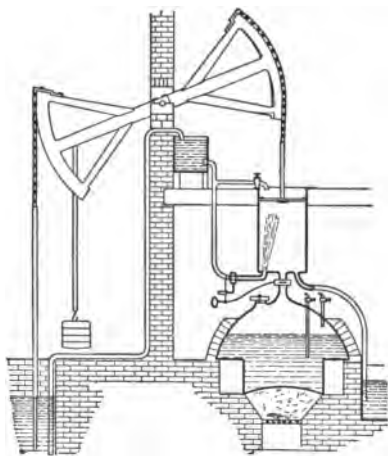
**Process  
in Steel  
Manufacture:  
Darby**

was produced. It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that by the Bessemer, and later the Siemens-Martin, processes steel could be produced at such a low cost that it became the foundation metal for a multitude of operations.

About the middle of the eighteenth century a great impetus was also given the china and earthenware trade. This may be credited in large measure to Josiah Wedgwood, who was the creator of English pottery as a fine art. He greatly refined the material used and invented a beautiful cream-colored porcelain, which was called Queen's Ware after Queen Charlotte, who aided the inventor and made his ware popular. Factories sprang up in other parts of England, and to this day England has maintained the leadership in certain forms of china and earthenware.

### 89. The Steam Engine and its Application to Industry. — The discovery

that steam will act as a motive power has been claimed by many people, but the practical application of steam to a machine which furnished motive power was not made until the close of the seventeenth century (1698). By the condensation of steam in a closed chamber, a vacuum was produced whose force was used to raise water from one level to another.



Josiah  
Wedgwood

Queen's Ware

DIAGRAM OF NEWCOMEN'S ENGINE

Steam was admitted to the cylinder through a valve in the boiler, and the piston was forced up. Then the steam valve was shut and a jet of cold water was admitted to the cylinder through another valve, condensing the steam and creating a vacuum. Consequently the piston was forced down by the pressure of the atmosphere. The up and down motion of the piston raised and lowered the pivoted beam, which in turn raised and lowered the pump.

**Newcomen**

This method was employed to rid mines of water. In 1705 Newcomen improved upon this device and thereby gave a greater impetus to the mining industry. He made provision

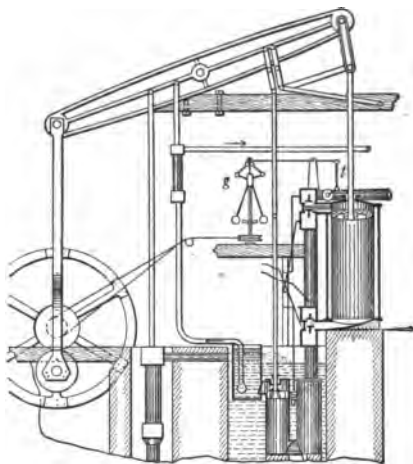


DIAGRAM OF WATT'S ENGINE

**Watt's Engine**

Instead of leaving one end of the cylinder open, as Newcomen had done, in order that the pressure of the atmosphere might push down the piston head, Watt closed both ends of the cylinder. By means of a pair of steam and exhaust valves at each end of the cylinder, steam was automatically admitted first into one end of the cylinder and then into the other, thus moving the piston up and down. He further added the throttle valve *t*, for regulating the rate of admission of steam, and the revolving balls, or governor *g*, to control the speed of the engine, thus making it entirely automatic and insuring the regularity of its motion.

order to condense the steam, and set to work to remedy this. Other important improvements made by Watt were the governor and the throttle valve. (See diagram.) Thus was evolved the modern steam engine, with all its essential parts. Arkwright and other pioneers in the application of power to the

for attaching the upper portion of the piston to one end of a pivoted beam, at the other end of which was the piston of a pump. The up and down movement of the piston of the cylinder gave a corresponding down and up movement to that of the pump. (See diagram p. 201.)

The next advance was made by James Watt, whose inventions mark a new era in the development of steam power. Examining Newcomen's engine, he was impressed with the great waste caused by the necessity of cooling the cylinder after every upward stroke in order

textile industries speedily realized the advantages of this new power producer and introduced the steam engine into their factories. By the opening of the nineteenth century the steam engine had come into its own as the king of the industrial world.

**90. The Revolution in Transportation.** — With the progress of invention in the industrial arts and the consequent growth of commerce, a strong demand was felt for improvements in methods of transportation. In England, as well as on the continent of Europe, roads were in a wretched condition until the closing years of the eighteenth century. Then, chiefly because of the new methods of road construction introduced by Telford and Macadam, a great advance was made. The Telford road was named after Thomas Telford, a Scottish civil engineer (1757-1834), and consists of a pavement of stone blocks placed on a road bed and covered with one or more layers of broken stone. Telford constructed more than 1000 miles of these roads. He is famous also for his bridge over the Severn and for the Caledonian Canal. He built over 1200 bridges, the Ellesmere Canal connecting the Severn, Dee, and Mersey Rivers, and improved many harbors.

**Telford**

**Road- and  
Bridge-building**

His method of road-making was largely superseded by that of John Macadam (1756-1836), another Scotchman, who spent thirteen years of his life as a New York business man. After his return to Scotland he interested himself in the subject of road-making with such success that in 1827 he was voted \$48,000 by parliament and appointed surveyor-general of roads. His method of road-making is familiar to all. The macadamized road consists of layers of broken stone graded down from a fine binder on the surface to a lowest layer of two-inch stone next to the earth below grade.

**Macadamized  
Roads**

Canals for commercial purposes had been constructed as far back as the time of the Roman occupation of Britain; but the development of canals in Great Britain was left until this same period. The credit belongs to James Brindley (1716-1772), a



**James Brindley  
and  
Canal-building**

Derbyshire engineer. His first canal was built in 1761 between Worsley and Manchester, and during his lifetime he built or planned 365 miles of canals. These canals lowered the cost of transportation at least seventy per cent in the regions served by



**The Steamboat**

#### A CLIPPER SHIP

Clipper built ship of the first half of the 19th century. Compare the graceful lines of this ship with the awkward construction of the ships of earlier centuries. See Chapter II.

**Ocean  
Transportation**

The first to make the steam boat a commercial success was Robert Fulton, who in 1807 sailed the Clermont from New York to Albany, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, in thirty hours. The Clermont was one hundred and thirty feet in length and was driven by paddle wheels at the sides. The spread of this method of transportation was very rapid, and within a few years the era of steam transportation on water

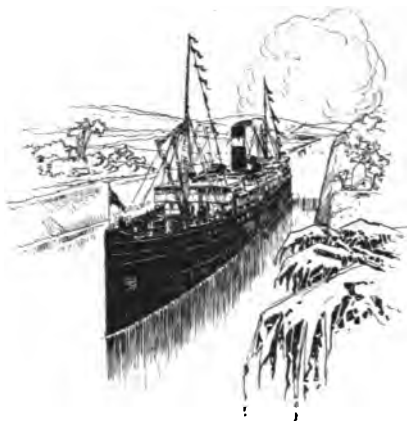
them, and as a result a steady supply of raw material was assured to manufacturers, an abundant food supply to their laborers, and better facilities for marketing the products of the factory.

The credit for first applying steam to transportation belongs to America. The steam engine had hardly been applied as a motive power in manufacturing before Oliver Evans, an American inventor, attempted to drive wagons and boats by steam; and John Fitch ran a steamboat on the Delaware in 1788 at the surprising speed of eight miles an hour.

had fairly begun. This new method was quickly adopted in England, which had far outdistanced this country in its development of industry.

The ocean-going ships of the eighteenth century were of the clumsy, slow build used for the East India trade.

It was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that the clipper type of sailing vessel was developed. Although the steamboat had been developed in the opening years of the nineteenth century, it was used chiefly on the inland waterways and for coastwise traffic, until the construction



A MODERN STEEL STEAMSHIP

of iron-hulled steamers after 1838. By 1850 only about 25 per cent of ocean commerce was carried in iron steamships.

The father of the steam locomotive was an Englishman, George Stephenson (1781-1848). He constructed the first successful locomotive in 1814. It was used to haul coal nine miles from the mine to tide water. When a railroad was projected between Liverpool and Manchester, Stephenson was placed in charge, and the railroad was opened in 1830 with the complete triumph of his locomotive, *Rocket*, which, to the surprise even of its inventor, made a speed of thirty miles an hour. The greater efficiency of the locomotive of our own day is due to two factors: improvements in the machine itself and improvements in the road bed.

Stephenson and  
the Locomotive

The locomotive has greatly increased in size. The first locomotives were hardly larger than hand cars and had boilers about the size of a large barrel. All are familiar with the

**Railroads**

huge locomotives which now drive the express trains. The first railroads were constructed with wooden rails. These were improved by the addition of iron straps on their upper surface. Then came iron, and later steel rails, which have made



FIRST TRIP OF THE DEWITT CLINTON

This locomotive, which ran between Albany and Schenectady, was similar to the engines built by Stephenson. Note that the first coaches were actually the vehicles formerly drawn by horses. This type of coach is still represented in the compartment coaches of Europe. The American coach, with a central aisle and doors at the end instead of at the side of the coach, gradually evolved on this side of the ocean and in a modified form is gradually superseding the older type in Europe.

possible the great locomotives, tremendous trains, and the rapidity of modern railroad transportation.

**91. The Factory System and its Effects.** — Perhaps the most important of the changes which form a part of the industrial revolution was the establishment of the factory system. The



#### STEVENS'S LOCOMOTIVE AND THE MODERN LOCOMOTIVE

John Stevens was the next American after Fulton to develop the steam engine. The upper picture shows his locomotive running over a circular experimental track on his estate.

In sharp contrast to the earliest locomotives is the huge compound locomotive of today.

factory system was the result of a new combination of power and men. At the opening of the period of warfare between England and France which closed with the downfall of Napoleon, England was mainly an agricultural nation. Englishmen spun and wove in their cottages. At the close of the war they were employed in great buildings called factories and were the servants of

machinery which was run by steam or water power. Because it was cheaper to operate factories where a supply of coal could be cheaply procured, industry was centred chiefly in the north of England, where the principal coal fields were to be found. Here, gathered together in large buildings, were persons of every age and both sexes, with no care for their comfort, health, or decency. The machines made to lessen the amount of hand labor eventually greatly extended it. If the laborer could not adapt himself to new methods, they deprived him of all means of livelihood. Riots were of ordinary occurrence in which the less adaptable workmen sought to destroy these "iron men," as they termed the machines, the profit of whose operation went almost entirely into the pockets of their employers.

**Large Scale  
Production**

The effects of the introduction of the factory system upon the life of the modern world are both numerous and far reaching. Among the most striking are the development of large scale production and the division of labor. Large scale production required large amounts of capital, thus stimulating the growth of a capitalistic class, men with means enough to organize these great factories. They in turn often took the larger portion of the wealth produced by their employees, leaving the latter but a bare living wage. Their tremendous profits were used in part to develop the factory system still further, so that England was able to clothe Europe when the Napoleonic wars were paralyzing the industries of the continent. In the growth of factories it was speedily discovered that a minute division of labor was not only necessary but highly profitable. By this is meant the specialization of the workmen in some particular operation; for example, in the making of a pair of shoes, one workman cuts out the soles, another the heels, another the uppers, another sews the uppers to the soles, and another performs some other step in the manufacture. The results are that each workman becomes very skilful in his own process,

much time is saved, and in consequence the production is vastly increased.

In the course of time it became evident that the interests of the employer differed from those of his employees. In order to increase the profits the employer had to keep down expenses, which often meant lowering wages. Before the coming of the factory, when the workman became dissatisfied with one employer he was more free to find employment for his hands with some other master workman. But now the ownership of the machinery by the employer placed the workman almost entirely at his mercy. It is true that he might seek employment with some other owner of machinery, but it was evidently so much to the advantage of the factory owners to keep wages low that the workman received little encouragement from other owners. This stirred up a feeling of hostility between capital and labor which has lasted until the present time.<sup>1</sup> The wealthy men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been merchants rather than manufacturers. With the coming of the factory, the wealthy employer gained a new social prominence and political position, which he used to secure legislation favoring his class at the expense of the other classes in English society.

Separation of  
the Interests  
of Capital  
and Labor

Wages

**92. The Effects of the Industrial Revolution.** — It has been noted before that as a result of the abundance of the fuel supply great manufacturing towns began to spring up in the north of England. These attracted laborers from all parts of England. Formerly the mass of the population had been in the south; after this time, the balance changed so decisively that new and serious problems of representation in parliament appeared. Many of the old towns decayed, yet they possessed the same representation in and continued to send the same number of representatives to the House of Commons until the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 (sec. 107), while the thriving new cities in the north had no representation at all.

Redistribution  
of the  
Population

Political Effects

In 1760 a contemporary writer said that he found among the

<sup>1</sup> Some of these effects will be found discussed at length in Chapter XII.

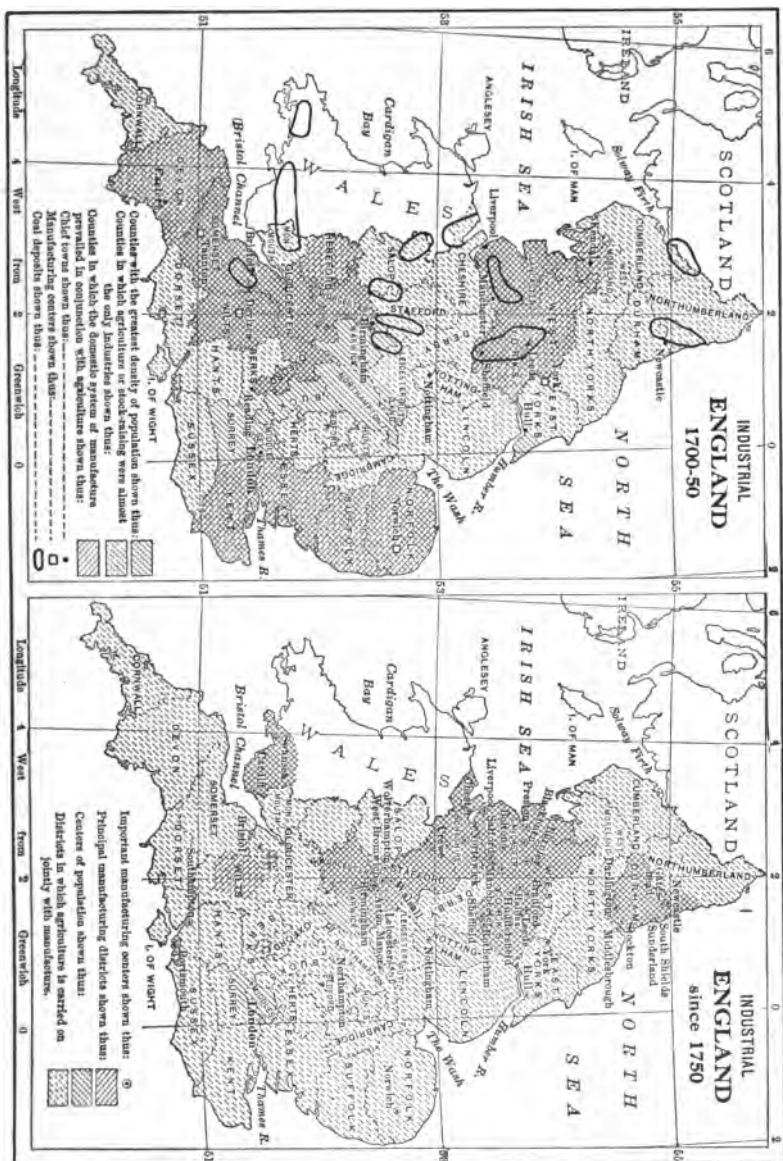
**Degradation of  
the Working  
Class**

country weavers "not a beggar or idle person." The total wealth of the country was small, but there was general comfort. While the introduction of the factory increased the total wealth of the country tremendously, poverty increased at almost the same tremendous rate. While the population increased seventy per cent, the cost of poor relief increased five hundred and thirty per cent. This heavy burden was not alone due to the increase of poverty but to wasteful methods of poor relief.

**Increase  
of Poverty****Employment  
of Women  
and Children**

The substitution of machinery for hand labor tended to the employment of large numbers of women and children in the factories. Not much physical strength was required to operate the new machinery, and women and children were often more dexterous than men. Above all, their services were cheaper. As a result domestic life was disorganized. A contemporary says, "The females are wholly uninstructed in domestic affairs requisite to make them frugal wives and mothers"; and in their homes he found "filth, rags, and poverty." When the factories started it was considered a disgrace for children to work in them. The term "factory girl" was the most insulting that could be applied to a young woman, and after she had been employed in a factory she could never find employment elsewhere. Not until wages were reduced to a starvation level, would the workmen consent to the employment of their wives and children. The factory owners, therefore, had pauper children apprenticed to them and treated them most inhumanly. Children were driven at their work until they gave out through exhaustion. They were worked sixteen hours at a stretch, by night and by day. "In stench, in heated rooms, amid the constant whirling of a thousand wheels, little fingers and little feet were kept in ceaseless action, forced into unnatural activity by blows from the heavy hands and feet of the merciless overseer and the infliction of bodily pain by instruments of punishment invented by the sharpened ingenuity of insatiable selfishness." To prevent their running away, irons were riveted upon their ankles, and they were fed on the coarsest food and put to sleep in relays in beds

**Evils of  
Child Labor**





which were never cool. Undoubtedly these evils were more prevalent in the smaller than in the better organized and larger factories.

**Instability  
of Trade**

Under the domestic system of industry when luxuries were only slightly used and when the amount of manufactured goods necessary could be easily ascertained, there were no periods of under-consumption. Hence trade was fairly stable. With increased facilities for production, manufacturers often produced more than the temporary demand would justify with the hope of extending their trade in foreign countries. As this was a period of general European war, this hope suffered greatly at times in its fulfilment. The manufacturers found an oversupply on their hands and were forced to shut down their factories at irregular intervals, throwing thousands out of work and causing added social distress.

**Supply and  
Demand**

It was the growth of the factory system which finally brought to an end the old system of trade regulation in England. Under the mercantile policy, laws had been passed to regulate the maritime trade, to stimulate industry by means of protective tariffs, and to encourage agriculture by the so-called Corn Laws. The latter had practically discouraged the importation of grain by means of prohibitive duties, while at the same time the exportation of grain was rewarded with bounties. The arguments of Adam Smith (sec. 27) for a relaxation of this system of governmental control in favor of a *laissez-faire* policy bore fruit in the modification of the Navigation Acts and the reduction of duties on many imported raw materials and manufactured goods. This free trade policy was initiated by Huskisson in 1823.

**The Old System  
of Trade  
Regulation**

**Beginnings of  
Free Trade**

**Trade-  
Unionism**

A new problem was presented for governmental solution in the growth of trade unions. Combinations of workmen for the purpose of presenting a united demand upon their employers had been formed many times in the world's history. We find in the records of the past concerted action by means of strikes as far back as the building of the pyramids. Up to the nineteenth

century, because parliament was representative only of the influential and wealthy classes, English law had been hostile to unions of laborers. In 1800 parliament passed a drastic law declaring illegal "all agreements between workmen for obtaining advances of wages, reductions of hours of labor, or any other changes in the conditions of work." Under the terms of this law many workmen were prosecuted and imprisoned. Yet unions were formed in spite of the law, and finally in 1825 parliament passed laws permitting laborers to combine and to attempt to better their lot. The courts, however, remained the strongholds of the manufacturers and condemned the unions as conspiracies in restraint of trade until 1871, when parliament expressly declared that such restraints of trade should no longer be regarded as criminal. This is the basic law concerning labor unions. By the act of 1875 it was declared that no act committed by a union could be punished as a crime unless, if committed by an individual, the act were criminal.

**93. Growth of Socialism.** — Another significant result of the introduction of the factory system was the spread of socialistic doctrines. Influenced by the teachings of Adam Smith, England, and in turn the rest of the modern world, had first adopted the theory that the government should adopt a "hands-off" policy toward industry. This was very satisfactory to the individualist, one who thinks that every man is the sole judge of what is best for him and should be allowed to succeed or fail in business as a result of his own efforts and intelligence. On the other hand, even while England was becoming a free trade nation, she acknowledged that a certain amount of control must be exercised over conditions in the factories. In fact there was a constant and a growing demand on the part of the people that the government control economic conditions. Some leaders and thinkers even went further and argued that the government should own and operate all industries. These people were called socialists and were regarded by some as earnest workers after the betterment of the world, by others

The Laissez-  
Faire Policy

The Socialists

as dangerous agitators seeking to undermine the very foundations of society.

The early socialists pointed out that there is a wide gulf between the rich and the poor and that the inequalities of wealth and happiness were constantly becoming greater. They hoped to educate the minds of men of all classes so that a better system of distributing the good things of this life would be peacefully adopted. Among these peaceful socialists were several subordinate groups. The Christian socialists argued that the founder of their religion taught the brotherhood of all mankind and that it was a religious duty to further any plan which might promote this end. Others, called Communists, wished all property to be divided and held in common for the benefit of all mankind. Indeed, many people of today confuse all socialistic doctrine with the views of this small group of socialists. Charles Fourier, a Frenchman, believed that each man should have whatever he needed. To ensure this he proposed the formation of groups of persons, called phalanxes, with 1800 in each group. Each phalanx was to own all buildings and means of production necessary for its maintenance. His ideas were carried to America, and the Brook Farm Colony was formed by several noted New Englanders to put in practice this theory, but it proved a failure. Another Frenchman, Saint Simon, believed that the state should control production and give to each man in proportion to the actual labor performed. A great English manufacturer, Robert Owen, was inclined to favor the coöperative ideas of Fourier and spent several years in an active promotion of this idea, both in England and America. One form of socialism which became popular in England was known as Fabian socialism, so called from the hesitating Roman general Fabius, who advocated a policy of delay in the war against Hannibal. Its adherents believe in making haste slowly and look to the government to coöperate with them in the attainment of their aims by favorable legislation. The revolutionary forms of socialism developed much later and will be considered in their proper connection.

**The  
Communists**

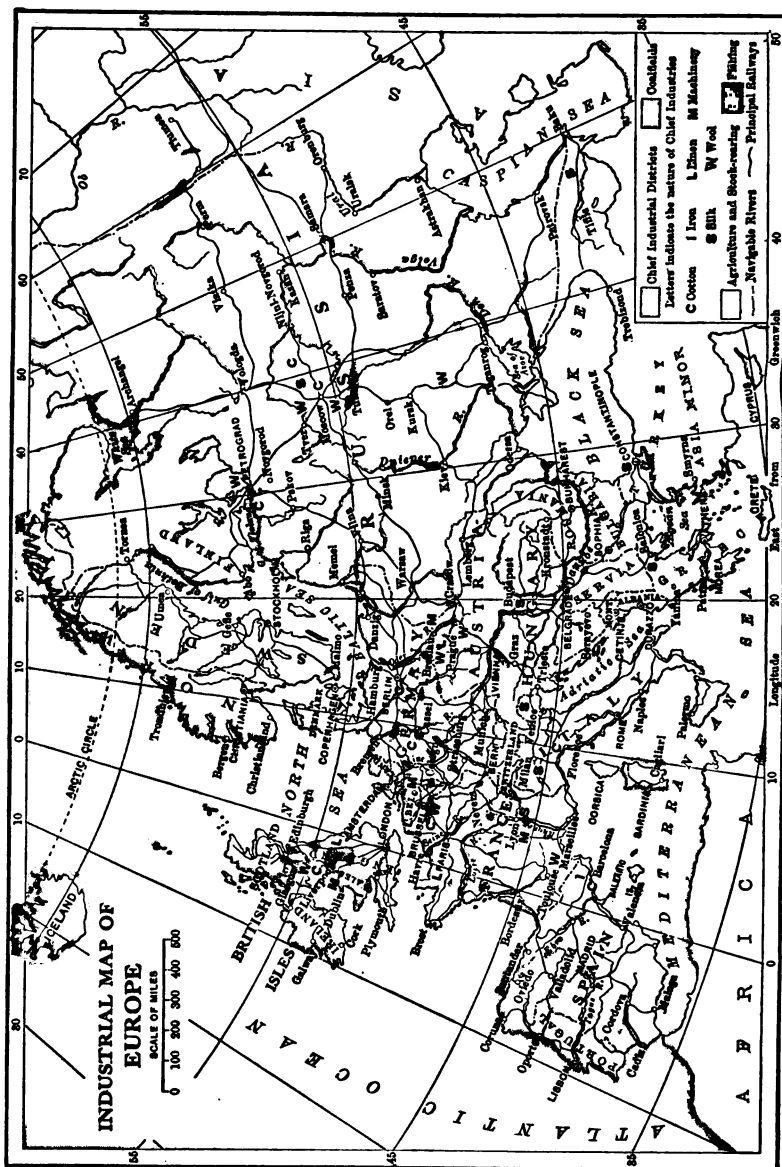
**Fourier**

**Saint Simon**

**Owen**

**Fabianism**





**94. The Industrial Revolution on the Continent.** — Thus far the course of the Industrial Revolution has been followed as it affected England. It remains to summarize briefly its course upon the continent. It was not until the period that followed the downfall of Napoleon that France passed from the domestic to the factory system. The change was characterized by the same social convulsion that we have observed in England. All the evils of the movement, viz., excessive hours of labor, woman and child labor, dangerous labor conditions, and greed upon the part of the employers, were no less in evidence in France than across the Channel. Remedial legislation was exasperatingly slow in coming, and a French law forbade workmen to form unions for the purpose of bettering their condition. It is not strange that the laborers of France often showed their hostility to a government which permitted their exploitation. The rising of the silk weavers of Lyons in 1831 is an illustration. Earning the pitiful wage of eighteen cents for a day of fifteen to sixteen hours, they emblazoned upon their banner the motto, "We will live by working or die fighting."

In France

During the era of Metternich (1815-1848), Austria-Hungary experienced the industrial revolution. The evils common to this social upheaval caused workmen out of employment to drift to Vienna, Prague, and Budapest and there to constitute a dangerous and desperate city mob, embittered against the government and ready to join in revolutionary movements. Austria and Germany remained behind France and England in their industrial development. Germany, with her large agricultural interests and few large cities, did not feel the pressure of the demand for a change in manufacturing methods until after the ideal of German unity had been implanted in German hearts. Since 1866 Germany's industrial development has increased by leaps and bounds, until today she is the admiration and the despair of rival nations.

In Austria-Hungary

In Germany

Russia, situated farther away from progressive industrial countries of western Europe and, even more than Germany,

In Russia

## In Japan

exclusively an agricultural country of the most primitive methods, did not feel the effects of the industrial revolution until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and it was not until the twentieth century that she caught up in any sense with her western neighbors. The most startling change is to be observed in the island empire of Japan, which has emerged from a feudal and industrially primitive stage into the light of modern civilization almost within the present generation. From the foregoing it will be seen that the change from the domestic to the factory system has been developing from the time of its origin in England in the eighteenth century to the present day with an ever-increasing momentum, spreading in waves of progress from its original home to the farthest quarters of the globe. We can neither prophesy the end of this remarkable social development, nor, in our wildest dreams, form an adequate estimate of its future possibilities for mankind.

#### SUGGESTIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER REFERENCE

1. Describe the manorial system of agriculture.
2. Review the condition of the agricultural laborer from feudal times to the eighteenth century.
3. Discuss the evils of the open-field system.
4. What were the farming implements in use at the opening of the eighteenth century?
5. What were the characteristics of agriculture in the eighteenth century?
6. Give an account of the work of Arthur Young.
7. Discuss the condition of the roads of England during this century.
8. Discuss the work of Coke of Holkham.
9. Describe the agricultural conditions during the period from 1793 to 1815, and show how they influenced the outcome of events.
10. Describe the construction and operation of each of the following inventions: (a) the "spinning jenny"; (b) the "mule"; (c) the "flying shuttle"; (d) the cotton gin; (e) the blast furnace; (f) Watt's steam engine.
11. Compare the methods of road construction introduced by Telford and Macadam with those employed by modern road builders.
12. Describe the first steamboat and compare its construction, capacity, and speed with modern river boats like those which ply on the Hudson.
13. Describe the early locomotives and compare their construction, appearance, tractile capacity, and speed with modern locomotives.
14. Discuss the industrial, social, and political effects of the introduction of the factory system.
15. Discuss the advantages of the division of labor.
16. Discuss the present status of the problems of child and woman labor.
17. Discuss the theories of Adam Smith, Fourier,

Saint Simon, the Brook Farm community, and Robert Owen. 18. Show that the term "industrial revolution" involves a much broader social change than the word "industrial" implies.

## COLLATERAL READING

- I. THE EVE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.  
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- II. THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION.  
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- III. MINING AND TRANSPORTATION.  
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- IV. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE FACTORY SYSTEM.  
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- V. ROBERT OWEN AND THE HUMANITARIAN MOVEMENT.  
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2. Hargreaves's invention of the spinning jenny. Robinson and Beard, Readings in Modern European History, Vol. II, pp. 45-9.
3. Account of Crompton's life. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-52.
4. Cartwright's narrative concerning the invention of the power loom. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-3.
5. The steam engine. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-62. Colby, Sources in English History, pp. 268-70. Work of James Watt. Cheyney, pp. 614-5.
6. Fulton's account of the first steamboat. Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 406-8.
7. The factory system. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-7.



## 218 ESSENTIALS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

8. The mercantile theory. Library of Original Sources, Vol. VI (Mun), pp. 157-63. *Ibid.* (Adam Smith), pp. 399-409.
9. The basis of property is labor. *Ibid.* (Locke), pp. 164-71.
10. The rate of wages in 1795. Colby, pp. 278-81.
11. Louis Blanc's labor program. Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 76-8.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

1. On outline maps of England compare the geographical distribution of population before and after the industrial revolution. Show the coal and iron fields. Locate the principal manufacturing towns. Show the location of the principal industries. Show the districts in which manufacturing was carried on jointly with agriculture in 1750. Show the principal canals and waterways.
2. On a map of the world show the principal lines of railroads and steamships.

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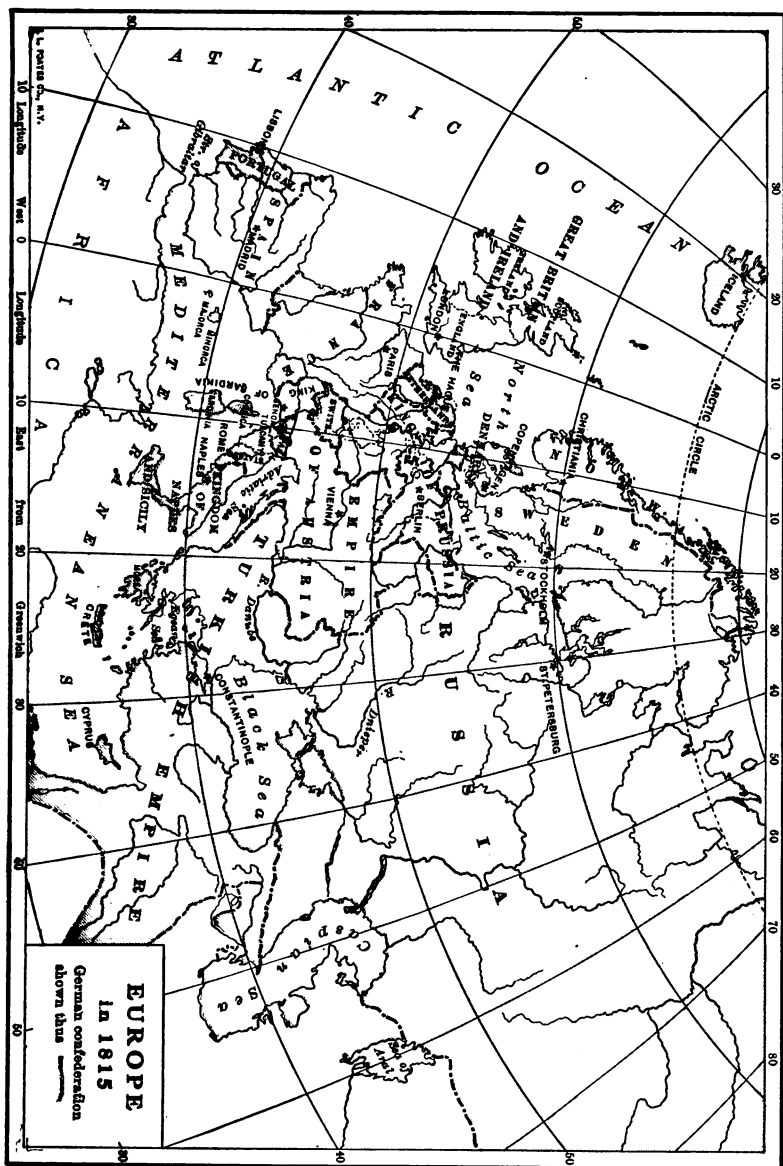
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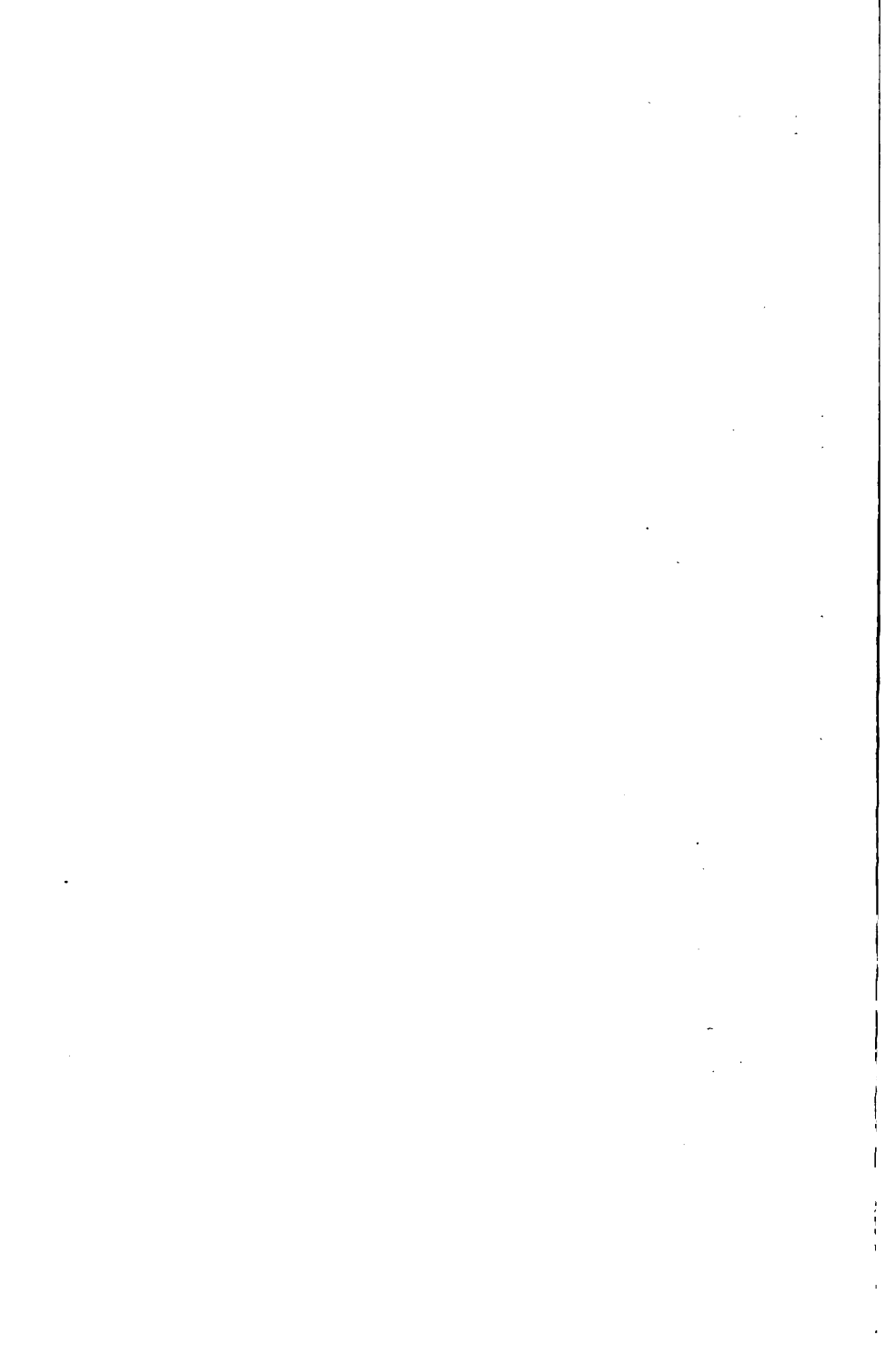
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## CHAPTER VIII

### METTERNICH AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

**95. Metternich and the Reaction in Europe.** — It has already been pointed out how entirely the Congress of Vienna ignored the wishes of the peoples living within the states whose boundaries they sought to determine. One of the most prominent and influential members of the Congress was the Austrian Chancellor, Prince Metternich. He referred to himself as "the man of what was." He claimed, with perhaps little reason, the credit for the final settlements which were reached of the many perplexing problems confronting the statesmen of Europe on that occasion. His attitude towards the resettlement of Europe was typical of the reactionary forces which now sought to regain their sway. He had a horror of anything which savored of government by the people and sought to establish once and for all the domination of the forces of absolutism and reaction. He was by conviction an extreme conservative, absolutely rejecting, individually and collectively, all the changes which had followed in the wake of the French Revolution. He proposed to establish Europe upon so firm a basis that another upheaval, such as had characterized the closing years of the eighteenth century, would be impossible. All the exiled monarchs were therefore restored — tyrants though they were in many instances — and royal descent alone was accepted as the condition entitling a man to rule a country. This was known as the principle of legitimacy. The various experiments which France had tried with different constitutions, oligarchic, aristocratic, or popular, were utterly ignored. Like the rulers whom he

Character  
and Aims  
of Metternich

Legitimacy



**PRINCE METTERNICH**

The master of European politics from 1815 to 1848.

had helped to reëstablish, he "had learned nothing and forgotten nothing."

When the monarchy was reëstablished in France by the restoration of the old Bourbon line, the new ruler, Louis XVIII, inaugurated his reign by granting a constitution known as the Charter of 1814. While this recognized in a measure the power of the people, the conditions under which it was proclaimed and its very name of charter were evidence enough to the French people that this was not a government resting upon the will of the majority but a gracious grant of such powers as it pleased the monarch to bestow upon his loyal subjects. That France had gained by the Revolution was indicated by the abandonment for the moment of all efforts to restore the *ancien régime* with all its contradictions, exactions, and tyranny. Peace and prosperity were what the French people were now seeking — an opportunity to recover from the stress and strain of the eventful period which had just closed. They could not, however, forget the lessons inculcated by the Revolution nor those great ideals of liberty and equality which had been the lodestar of so many Frenchmen during the past quarter century. For this reason France was jealously watched by her neighbors, who feared the contagion of her example and a new outburst of her enthusiasm. The path of her rulers was destined to be a thorny one if they trespassed too far upon the rights of a once sovereign people, and in the great upheavals within her borders are to be seen for some time to come the time limits of the great epochs which marked the history of Europe.

**Louis XVIII  
and the Charter  
of 1814**

**Relation  
of France  
to Europe**

The return of the exiled Bourbon rulers to Spain and to the Kingdom of Naples and of the petty rulers to the small states of Italy illustrates the conditions which prevailed throughout the greater part of Europe after 1815. These rulers, with great unanimity and accord, immediately wiped out every vestige of the great reforms which French rule had inaugurated within their domains, and the epoch which was now ushered in is one of the darkest in their history. Their zeal in bringing back the

**The  
Restoration  
of the Bourbons  
in Spain  
and Naples**

**Abolition  
of Reforms**

old conditions knew no bounds, as is illustrated by the monarch who ordered the uprooting in his botanical gardens of all plants bearing French names.

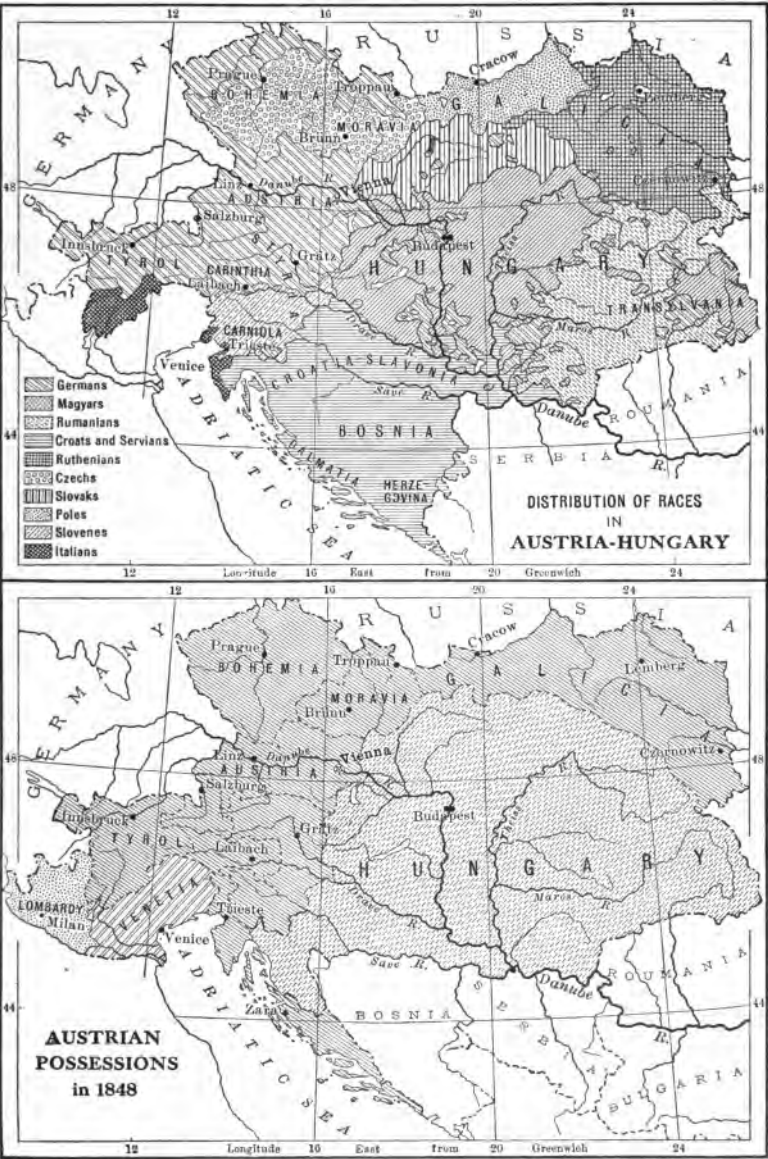
**The Situation  
in Central  
Europe**

Although the three hundred odd states which Napoleon had found in Germany in the eighteenth century were not restored, nevertheless that dream of a fatherland, united and strong, which had been the inspiration of those young men who had taken up arms in the War of Liberation (sec. 80) had vanished so completely that it seemed like a beautiful mirage in the desert. The new German Confederation was so organized that it did not hold out a single ray of hope to German patriots that it would ever become the nucleus of a powerful German empire. It was composed of all the German states, and the rulers followed the example of the rulers of the South of Europe by restoring many a mediaeval custom and practice which had been characteristic of the past. The great wave of regeneration which had swept Germany for the first time since the days of the Thirty Years' War had apparently spent itself vainly upon the rocks, and the day of her advent among the nations of Europe as their equal was indefinitely postponed.

**The German  
Confederation****The Situation  
in Austria**

Within the Austrian possessions reaction naturally reigned supreme. The ruler sought to bring back the practices of a bygone generation. From his capital, Vienna, came the orders which determined the course of action of much of the rest of Europe. In the various parts of this conglomerate Empire, with its mixture of creeds and races, the same conditions prevailed as in the states whose policies Vienna sought to dictate. The one great advantage which the Congress of Vienna had conferred upon Austria was the consolidation of her dominions, as may be seen by a glance at the map.

**96. The Tory Reaction in England.** — Even in England the epoch which followed the defeat of Napoleon was marked by reactionary measures and efforts on the part of the ruling class to dominate the situation. The strain of the struggle with Napoleon was now felt as never before, and the ruling class, although





**The Corn Laws****Heavy  
Taxation**

pretending to advocate a more liberal and a more democratic form of government than that which prevailed upon the continent, sought not only to maintain themselves in power but to take an unfair advantage of their position. The price of grain, or of corn as it was called, had been high throughout the war, as was to be expected under the conditions which prevailed. The majority in parliament, which was recruited from the country squires, the merchants, and the great manufacturers, failed to modify materially the notorious corn laws which had been enacted in the interests of the English grain producers, but sought instead to bolster up these prices even after the war had closed. Under these laws no foreign supply of grain could be sold in England unless English grain was selling at a certain price in the market. This price the law definitely fixed. The change from farming to industry in certain parts of England, and from the domestic system of industry to the factory system during this period of European upheaval, aggravated the misery and wretchedness of the masses, who had not as yet adjusted themselves to these transformations. The burden of taxation was heavy, as England had piled up a tremendous debt, and with the high prices demanded for foodstuffs thousands were on the verge of want and starvation.

**The  
Manchester  
Massacre**

As has so often been the case, the masses looked to the government to alleviate their distress and recognized perhaps as never before the political inequalities which separated the industrial classes from their rulers and employers. The government was in a measure responsible for some of this wretchedness, and in its denial of representation to populous districts the majority thought they detected the root of all the ills which threatened them. Monster meetings were held in the manufacturing towns; petitions were circulated; and protests began to flood the country against the injustices from which the masses suffered. These meetings were not always orderly; in some cases there was rioting. The soldiers were called upon to disperse one of these gatherings in Manchester, and in a clash between the soldiers

and the mob several lives were sacrificed. The government, which had little or no sympathy with these longings of the masses, immediately took alarm. Parliament suspended the writ of habeas corpus and passed the Six Acts prohibiting assemblies, restricting the publication of many of the attacks upon the government, and in other ways preventing an expression of the discontent which had been so clearly manifested.

The Six Acts

**97. Metternich and the Holy Alliance.** — It was a cardinal principle with Metternich and with the reactionaries whom he represented not alone to undo the work of the Revolution, but to maintain the conditions which have just been described. Curiously enough, the sentimentalism of the Tsar of Russia was used by Metternich to help accomplish this result. The Tsar had granted a fairly liberal constitution to that larger Poland to which he had fallen heir by the agreements concluded at Vienna. Although his attitude was much the same as that of the benevolent despot, he was prompted to grant these concessions out of a certain sympathy for the national aspirations of this portion of his great empire and a conviction as to his responsibilities as a Christian for the welfare of the subjects with whom he had been intrusted. When the sentimental Lord of the Russias proposed to the practical-minded Metternich a Holy Alliance whose aims should be "to adopt no other rule of conduct than the precepts of Christianity, the precepts of justice, charity and peace," and in high sounding phrases sought to commit the nations involved to a course of conduct based upon the great principles of Christianity, Metternich welcomed the project most enthusiastically, believing that he could make it serve the particular object which was uppermost in his mind — the domination of Europe. The alliance was therefore concluded between Russia, Austria, and Prussia (Sep. 26, 1815), and although, to quote the words of Metternich, the program was "mere verbiage," it became a very real force in Europe for the next generation. Almost a century later, in 1898, Europe was similarly startled and astonished by a proposal which seemed

Influence of  
the Tsar

equally out of harmony with the course of Russian development — the calling of the first peace conference at the Hague. Almost all the nations gave their adherence to the Holy Alliance; some out of respect for the Tsar, others in the belief that it really did not commit them to anything. More effective, however, than this grandiose scheme was another alliance concluded November 20, 1815. This was the Quadruple Alliance, composed of the same three countries which formed the nucleus of the Holy Alliance, but including England. This combination rather than the Holy Alliance became the real arbiter of Europe in the epoch which followed. England, however, would not lend her aid to the repressive measures which Metternich sought to put into operation, and the Quadruple Alliance became confused with the Holy Alliance. The three members of the former, whose ideas harmonized, proceeded to enforce treaties signed by the four powers, and became known as the Holy Alliance because Metternich pretended to be acting in accordance with the Tsar's original program for the Holy Alliance. These four great powers had bound themselves to preserve the arrangements made at the Congress of Vienna and to come together from time to time to consider any questions of international importance which might arise in the future. This so-called "concert of the powers" sought to maintain the "concert of Europe." Metternich, as has already been indicated, dominated the three great continental states, and almost from the beginning his ideas were out of harmony with those of England. "Intervention" was the watchword of these three powers of the Holy Alliance, and with Metternich as its watchdog this combination of great powers exercised a careful scrutiny into the internal developments of each state, detecting in every change the symptoms of a revolution which might sweep all Europe and produce other kaleidoscopic changes, and endeavoring to repress all such manifestations.

**The Quadruple  
Alliance**

**Intervention**

**98. Struggle for Constitutional Government.** — The next thirty years were marked by vigorous protests against the Met-

ternich system in various parts of Europe and by attempts to secure the recognition of the principle that the governed are entitled to a share in the government — a recognition which should take the form of the grant of a constitution. There were also protests in many quarters against the failure to recognize the principle of nationality. Nationalities were ignored to the same extent as marked the Napoleonic régime, and the union of Belgium and Holland, the joining together of Norway and Sweden, the rule of Austria in Italy, the failure to interfere with the Turkish control of the Christian states in the Balkans, the formation of the German Confederation, and many other circumstances of a similar character, gave rise to bitter heart-burnings and caused Europe to seethe with discontent. From time to time the molten mass below burst its barriers and spread consternation among the conservative element which was straining every nerve to suppress it.

**The Principle  
of Nationality**

Three important movements mark the period: that of 1820-22, that of 1830, and that of 1848. Each represents a vigorous protest, each more vigorous than the one before it, until 1848 is reached, a date marking a general upheaval in which the edifice so skilfully reared by Metternich began to tumble about his ears. In spite of these disturbances of '20, '30, and '48, which have been styled revolutions, after they were all over the general condition of Europe remained much as it was in 1815. It was a period of bitter disappointment, a time of hopes entertained only to be blasted. With the exception of France and England, conservatism seemed triumphant everywhere, and every effort of democracy to secure recognition seemed foredoomed to failure. Individual trenches had been taken, but the citadel was still unconquered.

**The Revolu-  
tions of 1820,  
1830, and 1848**

The Revolution of 1820-22 was confined largely to the extremities of Europe, to the Latin South, and began in Spain and Portugal. In Spain King Ferdinand's tyranny had become unbearable, and this fact, combined with successful movements for independence in the Spanish colonies in South and

**The Revolu-  
tions of 1820 in  
Spain and  
Portugal**

Central America, gave the signal for an uprising at home. The Spanish soldiers, who had been mobilized at one of the ports preparatory to setting sail to recover these colonies, raised the standard of revolt with a demand for "the Constitution of 1812," a liberal form of government which had been drawn up

The "Constitution of 1812"



BOLIVAR

The Wars for Independence in the Spanish Colonies

General Simon Bolivar was born of good parentage and was educated in Madrid, Spain. He visited Paris during the closing days of the French Revolution and doubtless received from Napoleon the inspiration to great military exploits. On his return to Venezuela in 1809 he soon joined the revolutionary movement and became the greatest general and statesman South America has yet produced. He freed Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Upper Peru (renamed in his honor Bolivia), and Ecuador from Spanish rule, and all the states of South and Central America benefited by his work.

in the course of the expulsion of the French from the peninsula, but which had been withdrawn with the restoration of Ferdinand VII. A mob surrounded the palace at Madrid and forced the king to take the oath to the constitution.

The disturbances in Spanish America date back to the days of Napoleon's domination when the hold of Spain upon her American colonies, none too strong at best, was seriously weakened. During this period these peoples took advantage of the disorder at home and declared their independence of the mother country. Bolivar was the great hero in South America, but he had his imitators throughout the entire territory under the Spanish flag. The Central American states declared their independence and joined to form the Republic of the United States

of Central America. In Mexico the standard of rebellion was set up under Hidalgo (1810). Iturbide achieved the final expulsion of the Spaniards, only to set himself up as emperor.

He was overthrown however, and in 1822 the republic was established. One after the other these colonies succeeded in overturning completely the rule of the mother country. Following the example of Spain, Portugal also demanded and obtained a liberal constitution from her ruler in 1822. In the same year her colony of Brazil was proclaimed an independent Empire under Dom Pedro I.

The people of the south of Italy, stimulated perhaps by the news of these revolts and driven to exasperation by the tyranny of another Ferdinand, took up arms in the Kingdom of Naples and forced their ruler to grant them the same constitution which was demanded by the Spaniards. There were also disturbances in distant Greece, which had long groaned under the yoke of the infidel Turk. The progress of the movement there is a phase of the near Eastern question and will be considered later.

**The Uprisings  
in Italy  
and Greece**

**99. Unrest in Germany and the Doctrine of Intervention.** — Meanwhile, although Northern and Central Europe made no appeal to the sword, certain developments in Germany seemed to augur inauspiciously for the preservation of the arrangements made at Vienna. Great political activity was shown among the young men in the universities. Patriotic societies, such as the Burschenschaft, had been formed during the War of Liberation (sec. 80), and many of these now set themselves to the task of keeping alive and strengthening those aspirations for union which had met with such a sad fate in 1815. A meeting of representatives of these societies from all over Germany was held on the Wartburg in 1817 to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the Reformation. In the celebration which followed patriotic speeches were delivered; some of the reactionary literature of the time was burned; and in general a spirit of hostility was shown to the existing order. The university professors had all along shown themselves most outspoken against the conditions which prevailed in Germany, and when, in March 1819, a zealous student named Sand murdered Kotzebue, an agent of the Tsar appointed to watch for symptoms of unrest and report

**The Wartburg  
Celebration**

**Murder  
of Kotzebue**

them to his august master, it seemed to Metternich and to his supporters that the time had come for vigorous action.

Intervention seemed the best method of handling all these situations. Metternich called a meeting of the King of Prussia and interested princes of Germany at Carlsbad in August, 1819, and persuaded them that their own safety demanded strong measures against this freedom of thought and expression so rife among their subjects. They agreed, therefore, to the Carlsbad Decrees, which committed them to the enforcement of a strict censorship over the press and a close supervision of the universities.

**The Carlsbad  
Decrees**

Metternich had scarcely finished with this business when the revolutions broke out in Spain and Naples, and to deal with these situations he called his confederates together in congresses which met at Troppau, then at Laibach, and later at Verona. Upon the petition of the King of Naples, who repented of his compliance with the demands of his subjects now that assistance seemed near, the Congress of Laibach despatched Austrian troops to restore the old order in the Italian peninsula. At Verona arrangements were made for sending a French force into Spain to help the other Ferdinand. As a result, conditions worse if anything than those known in 1815 marked the years which immediately followed.

**Congresses  
of Laibach  
and Verona**

**Opposition  
to the Holy  
Alliance**

The idea of intervention, which was one of the cardinal principles of the Metternich system, — the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of another state — had already experienced a severe setback. It was a part of the plan of the states which made up the Holy Alliance to recover for Spain her lost territories in America, but England and the United States helped to frustrate this move. England had all along been lukewarm toward the schemes of the Holy Alliance. The actual break came when George Canning became foreign minister. He was one of England's foremost statesmen and dared to proclaim to the world the rights of nations and England's opposition to any form of intervention. He declared that "the independence of the

**George  
Canning and  
the Origin of  
the Monroe  
Doctrine**

Spanish colonies was an accomplished fact" and in 1824 signed a commercial treaty with the Argentine Confederation and the following year despatched chargés d'affaires to the Spanish American republics. In 1824 President Monroe, possibly at the suggestion of Canning, proclaimed to the world the doctrine since known by his name—that the Americas were "henceforth not to be considered subjects for future colonization by any European powers"; that the United States would regard as an unfriendly act any effort either then or in the distant future to alter the existing arrangements. Spain was too weak to act upon her own behalf, and this clear statement of the attitude of the United States saved the newly created republics from European intervention. The outspoken hostility of England showed unmistakably also the difficulty of maintaining "the concert of Europe" by a "concert of the powers."

**100. The July Revolution and its Effects.**—Meanwhile matters had been going from bad to worse in France, the mother of revolution and the source of so many of the ideas which were fermenting in the minds of liberals all over Europe. The Royalists opposed Louis XVIII in all his efforts to recognize, be it ever so slightly, the work of the Revolution. He was finally forced to bow to the reactionary platform of the party known as the *Ultras* or *Ultra Royalists*, led by his younger brother, the Count of Artois, who was the next heir to the throne. Although the charter was not withdrawn in his reign, it began to be enforced in a narrowly restrictive sense through the power wielded by the *Ultras*. They sought the restoration of the *ancien régime*, and, when their leader ascended the throne in 1824 as Charles X, the outlook was dark indeed for the supporters of the charter and the friends of democracy. France seemed no longer a beacon light to the nations of Europe when in 1823 French troops were sent to suppress the Revolution in Spain. Although the government machinery was fast falling under the control of King Charles and his supporters, a vigorous

The Ultra  
Royalists

Reign of  
Charles X



**The July Ordinances**

opposition to his measures manifested itself outside the walls of the legislative chamber in the attacks of the journalists. Such a spirit of unrest developed that the king in July, 1830, issued a series of ordinances by which the charter was seriously modified and the franchise narrowly restricted and regulated. These "July Ordinances" also fettered the freedom of the press by new and severe regulations. This action was the signal for a vigorous protest on the part of the journalists, which was followed by an uprising of the people of Paris. Charles X, despairing of his ability to retain the crown, finally decided to abdicate and fled with his family to England. In this turn of events La Fayette again came to the fore and helped to establish a government. Although there were demands for a restoration of the Republic, voiced principally by the working classes, the leaders, who came from the middle class or bourgeoisie, were fearful of the consequences of such a radical step and wanted the Duke of Orleans to be their ruler.

**Accession of Louis Philippe**

That the people were still under the influence of the French Revolution was apparent in a proclamation which appeared pointing out how the Duke of Orleans "had carried the tricolor under fire at Valmy and at Jemappes and had been devoted to the Revolutionary cause." Declaring that the charter would now be a reality, he was proclaimed king with the title of Louis Philippe. Possibly mindful of the Revolution of 1688 in England, a parliamentary body had first gone over the charter, making needed changes, and had submitted it to the new ruler for his adherence. By this act it became a veritable constitution and the new reign ushered in a period of parliamentary rule comparable in many respects to that which marked the reign of William and Mary in England. Louis Philippe was a kinsman of the Bourbons, but he rejected any claim which he might have to the succession by his title of King of the French instead of King of France. His accession began the rule of the Orleans dynasty. The part played by the middle classes in the estab-

**The Orleans or Bourgeois Monarchy**

lishment of this Orleans monarchy caused the name of bourgeois to be attached to it, and Louis Philippe prided himself upon being a bourgeois king.

The July Revolution was the signal for movements in other parts of Europe, notably in Belgium, Poland, and Italy.

Spread of the  
July Revolution



LOUIS PHILIPPE ENTERING PARIS AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

Portions of the barricades erected by the mob for street fighting may be seen to the right.

Outside of Belgium these movements were everywhere marked by failure, and the demands for constitutional government were speedily stifled. In Belgium the people succeeded in bringing about its separation from Holland and the establishment of a parliamentary government under the rule of Leopold I. This

Revolution  
of 1830  
in Belgium

result was not attained without a struggle. The action of France and England in recognizing the new arrangements assured its permanence (Conference of London, 1830). The northern and central portions of the Italian peninsula were



THE RETURN FROM ST. HELENA

King Louis Philippe entered into negotiations with England and secured the return of Napoleon's body to Paris, where it now rests beneath the dome of the Hotel des Invalides in a magnificent sarcophagus. This picture portrays the passage of the casket down the Champs Elysées in Paris.

shaken by revolutionary movements in 1830, but Austrian interference speedily put an end to all hopes of the realization of a new order. The Polish Revolution was marked by a heroism which only made the outcome all the more sad for all friends of Polish nationality. For a long time secret societies

had been planning for a more complete autonomy. The watchword now was "Let us imitate the Parisians; let us do like France." "All or nothing" was the cry. But they were no match for the resources of the Tsar, and the constitution granted by Tsar Alexander was suppressed. "There was no longer either kingdom or army; the work of Alexander and that of Constantine were alike annulled."

**101. The Revolution of 1848 in France.**— By this time those economic changes which were peculiar to the history of the British Isles between 1750 and 1815, and which have been called the Industrial Revolution, had already made their appearance upon the continent. Both as First Consul and as Emperor, Napoleon had shown an interest in the remarkable development of industry across the channel as the result of the new inventions and improved processes and had sought to encourage manufacturing at home. Many of these efforts, however, had been sacrificed in the interests of his vigorous foreign policy, and it was not until after his overthrow that France began to turn to industry. By 1830 the working classes were beginning to feel their power and to realize, as had the English workingmen before them, their political inferiority. This feeling was largely the result of their exploitation at the hands of the capitalist or employing classes. Their wages were low and their employers seemed to be getting the lion's share of the fruits of their toil. Their ancient trade guilds had been broken up by laws enacted during the French Revolution and they were now denied the right to organize, which was another handicap in dealing with their employers. Even before the accession of Louis Philippe, socialism had appeared holding out a program of betterment for the worker. The various reform programs suggested had little effect in uniting the workers, who were becoming more numerous and more dissatisfied as time passed. All this was changed about 1840 with the appearance of Louis Blanc. He insisted that the state must be "the banker of the poor" and that the government should furnish the necessary money for the workers

**The Industrial  
Revolution  
in France**

**Ideas of  
Louis Blanc**

by the establishment in each industry of social workshops where the laborers should direct their own labor and in addition to their wages should share in the proceeds. The advent of Louis Blanc marked the formation of the Socialist Party, which came to play an important part in the revolution of 1848.

**Causes of  
the Revolution  
of 1848**

**The Bourgeois  
Monarchy**

The revolutionary movement of 1848, if it did not actually begin in France, received its impetus largely from developments there. In spite of the honesty of the bourgeois king, Louis Philippe, who has been pictured as standing before the shop windows of Paris with an umbrella tucked under his arm, the government of France was conducted in the interests of the minority. It was a parliamentary government, but it very much resembled the government of England in 1815 in its failure to represent the masses. The introduction of steam and the accompanying revolution in transportation which followed the use of the steamboat and the railroad still further aggravated the lot of the wage earner as industry developed by leaps and bounds. The Socialist Party became increasingly active. Side by side with this element was to be found a republican party, advocating a more direct participation of the masses in the affairs of the government. The attitude of the French king resembled that of George III of England, as he sought to impose his own ideas upon the country by a clever manipulation of the party system. Both king and ministers ignored the various demands for reform which were daily becoming more and more insistent. A typical illustration of this attitude is to be seen in the career of Guizot, Louis Philippe's greatest minister, who labored earnestly to block all change and preserve the constitution as it had been drawn up in 1830. Although above bribery and corruption himself, he showed little hesitation in employing means of this sort to maintain himself in power. Votes were secured for government measures by a judicious distribution of offices and favors, so that the way seemed absolutely closed to peaceful reform. Things might have gone on in this way indefinitely had it not been for

**Guizot**

the interference of the government with certain banquets at which the grievances of the people were being aired by enterprising journalists and reformers. For some time back there had seemed to be little about the government to commend it to Frenchmen, and when it sought to interfere with a comparatively innocent means of voicing the existing unrest, it drove its critics to more aggressive forms of action. When the minister, therefore, forbade the holding of a larger banquet than usual, which had been called for February 22, 1848, and troops were called out to clear the streets of the crowds which had collected, rioting became the order of the day, and the bolder spirits soon secured the upper hand, erecting barricades and shouting defiance at the minister and king. So unstable did the government prove itself in this crisis that within the space of three days it had been entirely swept away and in its place a republic had been set up, presided over by the republicans and the followers of Louis Blanc. The provisional government immediately put into operation a part of the program of the great socialist leader by establishing national workshops. The experiment failed, but this failure and the events which accompanied it form a part of the story of the rise of the new Napoleon which will be told later.

The  
Banquets

Overthrow of  
the Monarchy

**102. The Revolution of 1848 in Germany.** — All Europe was now profoundly stirred by revolutionary movements. These manifested themselves in the very strongholds of absolutism and repression, and shook them to their very foundations. In Germany the movement had two objects in view and its progress there followed two distinct lines. Like the earlier outbursts of 1820 and 1830, it was in part a demand for constitutional guarantees against that tyranny and indifference to popular rights so characteristic of many of the rulers of the German states and principalities. On the other hand it represented the beginning of that sense of unity which knit together those of German birth.

Objects Sought  
in Germany

In many cases the rulers yielded readily to the demands for constitutions, and no blood was shed. The small states were the

first to be affected; it was not until March that Prussia felt the force of the reform movement. King Frederick William IV rather prided himself that his hold upon his faithful "Berliners" was so strong that nothing could come of the unrest which now manifested itself in his capital. He willingly conceded the liberty of the press which the people demanded but was ready to stop there. He soon found, however, that the revolutionary movement had taken too deep a root to be checked by concessions of this sort, and on the eighteenth of March he was confronted by a serious uprising in the streets of the capital. Although the soldiers triumphed in the fighting which followed, the king bowed before the storm and not only promised a constitution of a most liberal character, but proclaimed his willingness to further by every means in his power the unification of Germany under Prussian leadership. When the delegates assembled to remodel the government along democratic lines, serious differences arose between them and the king and after a six months' session they were dissolved. The king and his ministers then prepared a constitution which, although liberal in some particulars, still preserved many divine right features. "In Prussia," he declared, "it is necessary that the king govern and I rule because it is God's command."

**Revolution  
in Prussia**

**The Prussian  
Constitution**

While these events were taking place in Prussia, representatives from all over Germany were laboring in the city of Frankfurt to realize the long-cherished ideal of a united Fatherland. This goal, toward which so many patriotic souls had been striving for years, seemed now about to be attained. The élite of Germany, from the standpoint of learning and culture, now came together as the result of a summons issued by a little group which met in Heidelberg and undertook to decide upon the form of union which should usher in this new Germany. Unfortunately, differences soon arose in this erudite assembly and precious months were wasted in fruitless discussions which led to nothing in the form of definite accomplishment. One of the most difficult problems before them was that presented

**Parliament  
of Frankfurt**

by Austria. What should the new Germany include? Should it embrace Austria with its varied interests and its diverse races or should only the German portion of the Austrian Empire be allowed to participate; or again, should Austria be excluded altogether, as a state having little in common with the new Germany? With the reform wave at its height in the smaller states and with Austria and Prussia preoccupied with the revolutionary movements within their own borders, the future looked promising indeed for the success of the work of the Parliament had the ideas of these patriots been crystallized into speedy action. The Parliament of Frankfort showed a dearth of men of action; it was primarily a group of thinkers and theorists, ranging all the way from the advocates of a republic to the upholders of monarchy. The reform wave soon spent itself in the smaller states and was succeeded by the inevitable reaction. The rulers realized that this movement had its origin with the people and not with themselves and began to look askance at projects which did not have the sanction of the established authorities. When the assembly decided to exclude Austria altogether from the proposed union and when Austria and Prussia alike found themselves free to act in Germany proper, the tide began to turn. By this time the delegates had decided upon a form of government for united Germany and had agreed to offer the ruler of Prussia the title of Emperor. Frederick William shared with many of the German princes the distrust, already referred to, of a government founded upon the will of the people and refused the proffered crown. This was a great blow to the movement, and when Austria entered her protest against a plan of union from which she was altogether excluded, the doom of the project was sealed.

**Offer of the  
Crown to King  
of Prussia**

Its more ardent supporters did not abandon the idea without a struggle and blood was shed in a vain, hopeless effort to achieve the impossible. King Frederick William was now foolish enough to think that he could attain the same result through the coöperation of the princes of the states concerned, but oppo-



sition among their number, which had the support of Austria, also brought this attempt to naught. In Hesse Cassel the armies of Austria and Prussia stood face to face in hostile array and hovered on the brink of war. Instead of leaving the decision to the settlement of arms a conference was held between representatives of the two governments at Olmütz and Frederick William was forced to drain to the dregs the cup of humiliation

**Humiliation  
of Olmütz**



REPRODUCTION OF A MEDAL HONORING KOSSUTH

An event connected with the Revolution of 1848 in Hungary was the visit of Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot leader, to the United States in an effort to secure American intervention in behalf of Hungary. This medal was struck off in honor of his visit. The inscription reads,

"Louis Kossuth, the Washington of Hungary.

"Now in the name of eternal truth and by all that is sacred and dear to man since the history of mankind is recorded, there has been no cause more just than the cause of Hungary."

and to renounce for the moment all his pretensions to German leadership. The Confederation was restored in the form in which it had been constituted at Vienna. A decade and more was to elapse before Prussia recovered the prestige which she lost on this fateful occasion.

**103. The Revolution of 1848 in Austria.**<sup>1</sup>—The Revolutionary movements of 1848 saw the overthrow of the Austrian Chancellor Metternich, the one person who more than any other seemed to symbolize all the forces of reaction so characteristic of the period. There was perhaps no part of Europe so severely shaken by these movements as the dominions of the House of Hapsburg. Several distinct centres may be clearly recognized

**Centres of  
the Movement**

<sup>1</sup> See map on p. 223.

where these outbreaks threatened to be most disastrous to its sway: namely, in Austria proper, in the city of Vienna; in Prague, the capital of Bohemia; in Hungary; and in Northern Italy. The news of the February Revolution in Paris was the signal in Vienna for a general uprising on the part of the students and workingmen, who called for the dismissal of Metternich and even sought his life. The government promptly yielded and the quondam dictator of Europe was forced to flee for his life, finding a haven with Louis Philippe in England, that Mecca of political exiles. At the same time Venetia and Lombardy threw off the Austrian yoke and sought incorporation with Sardinia in a united Italy; and the Hungarians, believing the time ripe for the enjoyment of a larger measure of local independence,

raised the standard of revolt. The Serbs in the south and the Czechs in the north, especially in Bohemia, demanded recognition of their nationality and local self-government, and the whole empire seemed ablaze with the fires of revolution. The failure of these different nationalities to coöperate and the jealousy which made them ready to sacrifice each other for an individual advantage, finally proved the salvation of the empire as a whole. Although the struggle was of the most stubborn character in some of the states involved, the ruler regained his authority. One great change marked the period, the abdication of the weak incompetent ruler and the accession of Francis Joseph, the ruler of the Dual Empire until 1916.



FRANCIS JOSEPH

The venerable Emperor of Austria, who linked the stirring events of '48 with the European War of the present generation.

Fall  
of Metternich

Lack of  
Coöperation

Accession of  
Francis Joseph

**104. The Revolutionary Movement in Italy.** — The events which took place in Italy in 1848 can be best understood and appreciated by a glance backward over the years which immediately preceded this great crisis. At the Congress of Vienna the Italian peninsula, in utter disregard of its geographical unity and its glorious past, had been treated as a collection of independent states destitute of any feeling of nationality and bound by no ties of common interest.<sup>1</sup> The barriers which the Congress of Vienna sought to establish between these states soon proved to be of the most artificial character, and the thirty years and more which had now passed since 1815 had witnessed the formation of two societies with branches throughout the entire peninsula. These strove to realize, each in its own fashion, the ambitions of all Italian patriots — a united country, free from the sway of the hated foreigner. The Carbonari was the first of these societies, but the organization was secret in character and possessed few leaders of power and insight. The society of Young Italy gradually took its place, an organization which was largely the result of the activity and zeal of a pure-minded Italian patriot, Mazzini, who was possessed heart and soul of this one ideal, a new, regenerated Italy. He believed that this result could best be attained by a campaign of education and sought through pamphlet and press to prepare the younger generation for the work before them and to inspire them with his own lofty ideals. There was perhaps a great deal that was visionary and impractical in his program. He was looking forward to the establishment of a republic. While others shared his hope of a united country, they differed radically as to the form of government best suited to accomplish their purpose. Although the spirit of nationality was strongly manifested throughout the peninsula, it was perhaps difficult to put it to good use on account of the conflicting opinions which prevailed as to ways and means and the results desired. The election of Pope Pius IX in 1846 aroused the hope among many Italians that

<sup>1</sup> See map on p. 269.

Italy  
after 1815

The Carbonari  
and Young  
Italy

Mazzini

Pope Pius IX

he might place himself at the head of a movement to unite Italy, as his accession to power was marked by a series of reforms which were in striking contrast to the order of things which had heretofore prevailed in the states of the church. He even went so far as to trust the laity with important details of the administration. This was the situation in the peninsula when Europe was swept by the Revolution of 1848.

What happened is a tangled skein to unravel. In the individual states the demand was voiced for more liberal forms of government and the pressure upon the rulers was so great that for the moment there was a general yielding all along the line. The new pope soon showed how little reliance could be placed upon the leadership of the church; in fact, its very organization and claims to power tied the hands of its supreme head in a movement of this character. But the divided interests of Austria, whose occupation of northern Italy was perhaps the most serious obstacle to union, was too good an opportunity to be neglected, and the ruler of Sardinia, Charles Albert, offered himself as the leader of the movement to expel Austria and to consolidate Italy. The states of the north, and even the pope, appeared willing to fall into line and supply the necessary troops. Charles Albert, therefore, placed himself at the head of his own forces and was successful in wresting a few victories from the Austrians, but the effort was doomed to failure. The aid promised was not forthcoming; the pope repented himself of his rash resolve; and Austria, fortunately for herself, was possessed of an able general in Italy, Radetzky. He had first taken refuge in the powerfully fortified area in the north, bounded by the cities of Peschiera, Verona, Mantua, and Legnano, known as the Quadrilateral, and was soon in a position to inflict a severe defeat upon Charles Albert at Custoza.

**Leadership  
of Sardinia**

What followed throughout Italy did not augur well for any permanent results. A republic was set up in Venice; another in Rome. In the latter the radical element seemed to dominate and the party of reform went much farther than the people were

**The New  
Republics**

prepared to support them. It was only a matter of time before both of these movements entirely collapsed.

The Sardinian ruler, although much disheartened by the setback at Custoza, made yet another effort to dislodge the Austrians from the north, but suffered so decisive a reverse upon the field of Novara in 1849 that he not only abandoned his efforts but abdicated in favor of his son Victor Emmanuel II, who immediately set to work to recover what he could from the wreck and ruin of his family's fortunes. He was allowed to retain his ancestral possessions, but the victory at Novara marked what appeared to be the end of all plans for a kingdom of Italy. In the southern kingdom of the two Sicilies important concessions had been secured by the people at the moment when the revolutionary movement threatened to sweep everything before it, but when their king, Ferdinand, saw that the tide was turning, he repudiated these and again ruled in the same tyrannical fashion as of yore.

**105. Results of the Revolution of 1848.** — Although disappointment and failure seemed to be the lot of these efforts on the part of the people to break away from the oppressive system which had been imposed upon them, the year 1848 ushered in a new epoch which was not like the old. A new day was dawning for these advocates of popular rights and these defenders of the principle of nationality against the upholders of divine right and legitimacy. Proofs of this were not lacking to discerning eyes, even though to many the outlook after the Revolution of 1848 was most discouraging. The fall of Metternich, the great bulwark of the system, the grant of constitutions, the reawakening of France and the impetus which she gave to liberal movements everywhere, the fall of the Holy Alliance with its meddlesome policy of intervention, finally the unrest itself, were one and all symptoms of that dawning consciousness of a new order where the relations of peoples to each other and of government and governed were to be regulated on terms which savored of that liberty and equality for which the patriots

**Novara  
and the  
Accession  
of Victor  
Emmanuel II**

**End of  
Holy Alliance**

of the French Revolution had once sacrificed their lives and treasure.

**106. Recognition of the Rights of the People in England.** — In this same interval from 1815 to 1848 a progress had been attained across the channel which was of a most encouraging



COSTUMES OF MEN AND WOMEN, 1814 TO 1824

nature for those who felt the existing order to be contrary to every principle of right and justice. The people of the British Isles received a recognition which, although somewhat tardy from the standpoint of the development of England, still served as an example to her neighbors upon the continent. The Industrial Revolution had by this time made such headway in the land of its birth that the inequalities between man and man were nowhere more apparent, and nowhere did the people realize to such an extent the inadequacy of the government to meet the entirely new order of society consequent upon large-scale production. The unrest which marked the period following the

Napoleonic wars has already been described. It was not until about 1830 that, under the influence of the movement upon the continent, the government began to remove some of the political barriers which separated the classes of people forming the population of the British Isles.

The first reforms were directed at certain survivals of the period when religious intolerance reigned supreme. The laws against the Catholics were still harsh and exacting. Although they had been granted freedom of worship, they still labored under the disadvantage of being disqualified from holding any public offices. By the Irish Act of Union, which united England and Ireland in 1800, these political disabilities had been still further accentuated, as the younger Pitt had promised, but failed to secure, their entire removal in return for the support of the measure by the Irish Catholics. It was the political unrest in Ireland which finally brought this question before parliament in such a way as to call for immediate action. Daniel O'Connell, a great orator and Irish patriot, led the fight for the removal of these restrictions upon Catholics as to office-holding. He showed the Irish as never before the value of coöperation. An organization known as the Catholic Association was formed, with the object of removing the disabilities resting upon the Catholic population of the island. His efforts were so successful in arousing his own countrymen to action that the ministry of the great Duke of Wellington, fearful of civil war, was finally forced to advocate relief measures and to insist upon the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act. O'Connell had brought the question to an issue by standing for election as a member of the House of Commons from the county of Clare. He carried the election easily and demanded his seat. The Tories, who were then in power and had stood out against the measure, saw the futility of further opposition, and in 1829 the act was passed. By its terms Catholics were admitted to all public offices with the exception of the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, the Chancellorship, and the

Act of  
Union, 1800

Daniel  
O'Connell

Catholic  
Emancipation

office of Regent. The Wellington ministry had already repealed the Test and Corporation Acts (1828) by which the taking of the sacrament according to the form prescribed by the Church of England was required as a qualification for office-holding. The ministry had yielded on this point; not, however, without first opposing these acts and being accused of a sad display of weakness. Some one has said of Wellington: "he treated politics as if they were military campaigns, and when beaten out of his position did not throw up the game, but gave way and only retired onto another similar position in the rear." These measures of tardy justice to English and Irish Catholics did little to relieve the situation in Ireland, which was aggravated by other ills. These were essentially of an economic nature and will be discussed later.

**Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts**

This same epoch saw great changes in the administration of justice. The criminal law was harsh and exacting, imposing the severest penalties for petty offences. The death penalty was prescribed for some 200 offences. It could even be imposed in case of theft, where the value of the article was as low as twelve pence. Only the leniency of magistrates and bailiffs stood between an offender and penalties out of all proportion to the offences committed. Such a situation bred a disrespect for law and multiplied offences. A thoroughgoing reform was carried through by such men as Peel and Romilly.

**The Reform of the Criminal Law**

**Romilly and Peel**

**107. The Reform Measures of 1832-3.** — The accession in 1830 of William IV, the sailor prince, and the coming to power of the Whig Ministry of Earl Grey, marked the beginning of a new order in England, with the friends of reaction stubbornly contesting every inch of ground. A bill was introduced providing for a redistribution of the seats in parliament and an extension of the franchise. The revolutionary character of this measure may be realized by a glance at the system which it sought to replace. England was ruled by and in the interests of a few. The conditions of voting and office-holding were such that a very small group of individuals, drawn largely from the

**The Reform Bill of 1832**

**Conditions of Voting**



landed aristocracy, were empowered to act in the interests of the masses. In the counties the right to vote was limited to freeholders, thus debarring great numbers who were merely tenants or who held land by copyhold — a form of land tenure which placed certain restrictions upon the owner. In the boroughs



JOHN HOWARD'S VISIT TO A PRISON

John Howard the reformer is here shown visiting the wretched inmates of an English prison before the reform in the criminal law and in penal methods was made.

and cities conditions were even worse. There was no uniformity of practice as to the right to vote, which was determined by the charter or by ancient custom. In some cities every tax payer had a vote; in others the selection of representatives was entirely in the hands of the city corporation. The disappearance of populous communities and the shifting of population which accompanied the progress of the industrial revolution had left the choice of members in some communities in the hands of a

single landholder or a small group of individuals. These were known as "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs. The new centres of population had either no representation at all in parliament or an inadequate one. Great counties numbering thousands of voters had the same number of representatives as a small shire like Rutland. The two evils, (1) a narrow franchise and (2) an unequal distribution of seats, went hand in hand. One could not be properly adjusted without the other. The Reform Bill of 1832, therefore, aimed (1) at a widening of the franchise by including copyholders and leaseholders in the counties who paid a rental of £10 a year and tenants paying £50 and conferring the franchise in the boroughs and cities upon all who paid rent to the amount of £10 yearly; and (2) at a redistribution of the membership of the House of Commons by giving communities like Manchester and Leeds a representation, abolishing the so-called "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs, or diminishing their representation, and assigning their members to the more populous communities. "This arrangement," says Oman, "left the shopkeepers masters in the towns, and the farmers in the countryside. The artisans in the one, the agricultural laborers in the other, were still left without the franchise and had to wait, the one class thirty, and the other fifty, years before obtaining it." <sup>1</sup>

"Rotten"  
or "Pocket"  
Boroughs

It must not be assumed that this great triumph was won without hard fighting. The House of Lords stood out as the great bulwark of the old order. When Lord John Russell introduced the bill in 1831, the measure was only carried by one vote on its second reading in the Commons. The ministry wished to resign, but the king would not hear to the proposal. He dissolved parliament instead and called for a new election to test the sentiment of the country. The result was a majority of 136 in favor of the bill. At this point the Lords placed themselves in direct opposition to the country to defeat the measure, and when the bill was submitted to them for their approval they

Opposition of  
the House  
of Lords

<sup>1</sup> *England in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 59.

rejected it by a large majority. Then was heard the cry throughout the country, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." It looked very much as though the fate of the House of Lords would be tied up with that of the bill, so strong was the feeling against this body. Earl Grey even proposed the creation of sufficient peers to ensure its passage. Realizing the crisis, they finally yielded, after various efforts to amend the bill and to render it innocuous so far as the old borough system was concerned. It was about the time of this struggle that the old party names of Tory and Whig began to give way to the present names of Conservatives and Liberals. The Tories came to be known by the former designation; the Whigs became the Liberals.

**Conservatives  
and Liberals**

The new parliament which the Reform Bill of 1832 brought into existence was responsible for several other measures providing for much-needed changes in the existing order. It has been said that "no session has been more fruitful of legislative activity than that of 1833." Perhaps its greatest achievement was the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. Public opinion was very strong against the slave trade at the time the Congress of Vienna was in session, and the English representative had sought on this occasion to mitigate its horrors by understandings with the nations on the continent. This agitation had been accompanied by a movement for the abolition of slavery with leaders like Clarkson and Wilberforce. Their efforts were at last rewarded by the passage in 1833 of a measure providing for gradual abolition. Several millions of dollars were appropriated for the purchase of the slaves and their release. The colonies most affected were the West Indies, where the negro slave was used upon the sugar cane plantations, and the British possessions in South Africa.

**The Abolition  
of Slavery**

**Clarkson and  
Wilberforce**

**Factory  
Legislation**

**108. Other Social Reforms.** — Even though the parliamentary leaders of this period did not see fit to place the ballot in the hands of the factory workers, they yielded to the strong current of public opinion which had risen against the exploitation of

helpless women and children by the great capitalists. The desire to make money quickly had blinded the eyes of many of these factory owners to the hardships undergone by the men, women, and children in their employ. The hours were long and the conditions of labor such that the employee found himself in a position little better than that of the slave. The demand for hands was so great that children were taken from the poor-houses and public institutions and reared in a state of ignorance and degradation for the sake of the contribution which they could make to the yearly output. The workingmen were forbidden to combine to protect their interests, and, not having the political power conferred by the ballot, their lot steadily grew worse. The same humanitarian wave which emancipated the slave bettered the lot of the white factory hand at home, and laws providing for shorter hours and more sanitary work rooms for the wage earner, were speedily enacted. A beginning was also made for a system of public education, the need for which had become more apparent with the rapid increase in population which followed the industrial revolution. In this particular, England lagged behind other countries and even today has still much to learn from her continental neighbors.

Closely allied with this new factory legislation and the growth of free trade was a new Poor Law enacted by the reform parliament. The measures for relieving poverty up to this time had encouraged the shiftless and the lazy and had made it possible for factory owners to pay low wages, as these were often supplemented by relief funds supplied at the expense of the parish. The new arrangement made the burdens lighter upon each parish by grouping the parishes into unions and by the creation of a central board to supervise and control the local units. This put an end to some of the old and vicious practices by allowing the poor to go wherever work was to be found instead of restricting them to the parishes where they resided.

These same industrial changes raised other questions of a more or less perplexing nature. By this time William IV had

The Reform of  
the Poor Law

**Accession  
of Victoria**

been succeeded by his niece Queen Victoria (1837). Her reign of 64 years witnessed some of the greatest progress yet attained in industry. As England developed more and more into a manufacturing country, it became more and more apparent that she must have markets for her wares and that she must depend upon the outside world for her food supply. A terrible famine, which wrought the greatest havoc in Ireland in 1846, due to the failure of the potato crop, brought the question of tariff restrictions upon foodstuffs before the country in a forcible fashion.

**Famine  
in Ireland**

**Peel and the  
Repeal of the  
Corn Laws**

Sir Robert Peel, who was then prime minister, succeeded in carrying the repeal of the obnoxious corn laws (sec. 96). This was the easier to bring about at this time on account of a change of attitude on the part of the people, who were beginning to show decided leanings towards free trade. In 1838 an Anti-Corn Law League had been formed among the manufacturing class, and they had carried on an active campaign to lower the cost of living. Such a movement to reduce the cost of living would enable them to cut down wages and thus compete more successfully with foreign producers. Peel's budget of 1845, providing for the public revenue, had also shown most decided leanings towards free trade in abolishing the export duties and the import duties on 430 articles of raw material. By the end of this epoch a long step had been taken towards placing England upon her present revenue basis by which no taxes are laid on imports such as raw materials, machinery, and articles used for food.

**Labor  
Legislation**

Besides the steady advance of the free trade movement there is to be noted in the late 40's additional legislation bearing upon the lot of the working classes. In 1844 a law was enacted safeguarding them against dangerous machinery; and in 1847 a ten hour day was secured for all workers, both male and female.

**The  
Chartists**

The agitation of 1848 on the continent was only partially reflected in England. In this year the Chartist movement reached its climax. The working classes, suspecting the mo-

tives of the organizers of the Anti-Corn Law League, who belonged to the employing class, had launched this movement in 1839, trusting to the old panacea of political power to relieve their distress. They formulated six demands known as the People's Charter. These were regarded as highly revolutionary in character, but would not be considered radical today. They included manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, the abolition of a property qualification for members of parliament, equal electoral districts, annual parliaments, and the secret ballot. In 1848 they proposed to hold a monster meeting and submit a monster petition to parliament. The government became alarmed and special deputies were sworn in to preserve order. Little came of the agitation. The petition was, it is true, presented in due form but in a quiet, unostentatious fashion. An enormous proportion of its 2,000,000 signatures proved to be fictitious and "chartism as a revolutionary movement collapsed amid derision into utter insignificance."

#### SUGGESTIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Of what ruler was it said especially that "he had learned nothing and forgotten nothing"?
2. Read the "Charter of 1814," and summarize its provisions in your note-books.
3. What important political questions were left unsettled by the Charter?
4. Explain how the Austrian possessions were consolidated by the Congress of Vienna.
5. Discuss Metternich's aims in Italy.
6. Give a sketch of the career of Bolivar.
7. Discuss the origin of the Monroe Doctrine.
8. Read Canning's proposal to the United States.
9. Compare the diplomatic policy of the United States toward the European situations of 1822 and 1914.
10. Give an account of the revolution in Portugal.
11. Give instances of Louis Philippe's attempts to merit the title of "bourgeois king."
12. Read England's statement at the outbreak of war in 1914 covering the question of Belgium's neutrality.
13. Give a fuller statement of the theories of Louis Blanc.
14. Explain this statement, "The Prussian government still preserved many of its divine right features."
15. Read an account of the deliberations of the Parliament at Frankfort.
16. Show how Frederick William was forced to drain to the dregs the cup of humiliation at Olmütz.
17. Give a more complete account of the Revolution of 1848 in Hungary.
18. Why was the group of fortresses in the north of Italy called the "quadrilateral"?
19. Give instances of the

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tyranny of King Ferdinand of Naples. 20. Give a sketch of the career of Daniel O'Connell. 21. Review the Test and Corporation Acts. 22. Give instances of rotten or pocket boroughs, and explain what was done by Chatham, Wilkes, and Pitt in the eighteenth century in favor of their abolition.

### COLLATERAL READING

#### I. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE.

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#### II. REACTION IN AUSTRIA AND GERMANY.

Jane, Metternich to Bismarck, pp. 7-15. Hazen, pp. 23-44. Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 12-7. Priest, Germany since 1740, pp. 76-84. Henderson, A Short History of Germany, Vol. II, pp. 324-38.

#### III. REACTION AND REVOLUTION IN SPAIN AND ITALY.

Hazen, pp. 45-65. Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 17-28. Fyffe, pp. 478-96. Shepherd, Latin America, pp. 69-81. Hawkesworth, pp. 35-92. Jane, pp. 30-39, 74-7. Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 22-8.

#### IV. FRANCE UNDER THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1830.

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#### V. REVOLUTIONS BEYOND FRANCE.

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#### SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

1. On a map of the Netherlands show the boundaries of the kingdom of Belgium.
2. Show the territorial arrangements of central Europe from 1815 to 1866.
3. On a map of South and Central America show the possessions of Spain and Portugal about 1812.
4. On a map of Italy show the territorial divisions in 1820.

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## CHAPTER IX

### THE ASCENDANCY OF NAPOLEON III AND THE NATIONALIST WARS, 1848-1871

**109. Character and Aims of Louis Napoleon.** — Prominent as France had been in the revolutionary movements of 1830 and 1848, she still continued to be a centre of interest after these efforts had subsided. In fact her influence upon the course of European history became even more marked with the accession to power of Louis Napoleon as ruler of the so-called Second Empire. This new figure upon the scene was a nephew of the great Napoleon, a son of that brother whom he had once created King of Holland. Louis Napoleon had lived first in Italy, then on the Rhine frontier, and later in England during the interval which elapsed between the restoration of the Bourbons and the Revolution of 1848. He had followed closely all that had taken place in France during this time and on two separate occasions had placed himself at the head of movements to overthrow the existing government. He lived in an atmosphere of intrigue and conspiracy, allying himself as a young man with the Carbonari in Italy and working from that time forward by secret and devious ways to attain power and influence. He was a born schemer, but not without certain ideals which furnished him with a motive for his activities. These ideals were in part the result of his heritage, as he had saturated himself in the doings of his illustrious relative and gloried in the fact that he was the "nephew of his uncle." He was convinced of his mission as the heir of the Napoleonic ideals and spent his early manhood in writing and intriguing to secure recognition. Although

Influence of  
Napoleon I

he was ridiculed by his contemporaries in consequence of his devotion to his idea and as a result of his absurd and dramatic efforts to realize it, he never lost sight of the desired goal and bided the time which he felt would arrive sooner or later when this relationship would prove of inestimable value. Signs were not wanting that a reaction had already set in decidedly favorable to the life and career of the great Emperor. Just enough



COSTUMES FROM 1834 TO 1864

time had elapsed to cast a halo about his deeds and to blot out the recollection of his acts of tyranny and oppression. Napoleon himself had labored during his closing years upon the island of St. Helena to whitewash his career and to prove to the world what a mistake had been committed in condemning to such a fate its would-be liberator. These efforts, accompanied as they were by such writings as Thiers' History of the Empire and Lamartine's poetry, had done much to create a fictitious Napoleon, the friend of all mankind and the ideal ruler of the French people. Louis Philippe had sought to add to his own waning popularity by countenancing this teaching, bringing the ashes of the great conqueror back from St. Helena in 1840 to give them a magnificent burial in the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris.<sup>1</sup> The idea which Napoleon himself had sought to impress upon

The Napoleonic  
Legend

<sup>1</sup> See illustration p. 234.

his countrymen, that he was the child of the Revolution, the instrument designated by Heaven to carry out its ideals, was now brought prominently to the fore, and no one strove with greater diligence to convince the French people of the truth of this claim than this "nephew of his uncle."

**110. The Second Republic and its Problems.** — The Directory had opened for the elder Napoleon the door of opportunity; the long-looked-for moment came to the nephew in the events which followed the Revolution of 1848. The government of Louis Philippe, the bourgeois monarchy, as it was known, had crumbled into the dust, leaving scarcely a vestige of its former existence. The provisional government soon gave way to a constitutional convention chosen by manhood suffrage. A ministry or executive committee of five was chosen and set to work to evolve a satisfactory form of government. A republic was immediately proclaimed, but before it could be established upon a firm basis certain perplexing problems were raised as the result of the demands of the working classes for some relief from their condition of economic dependence upon the employing class and from their lack of work. They believed that the government should recognize, as a fundamental right, the right to work. The efforts to satisfy their demands, whether sincerely entered upon by those in power or not, led to serious consequences. Louis Blanc had emphasized the advantages which would accrue to the working classes if the government should organize industry by establishing national workshops. His idea seems to have been to subsidize certain industries but to leave the management of these in the hands of the workers. The experiment which was now tried by those in power differed radically from this proposal. All who offered themselves for employment were enrolled in battalions, companies, and the like, and were set to work upon the streets, the erection of public buildings, and the completion of various government undertakings. They were paid a certain wage when employed and allowed a certain stipend when there was

The Form  
of Government

Influence of  
the Socialists

The National  
Workshops

not enough work to keep them busy. The government, with thousands of laborers upon its payrolls and with the number constantly increasing, soon found itself facing a serious economic crisis. It could only furnish work two days a week and could only pay eight francs a week. The result was discontent, and on May 15 a riot occurred in the city of Paris. There was only one solution and that was to abandon altogether the national workshop idea. The closing of these was the signal for the erection of barricades in the streets and an effort on the part of the working classes to overthrow the constitutional government. General Cavaignac was intrusted with the task of suppressing the insurrection and succeeded only after four days of fighting in which the city suffered considerably at the hands of the insurgents.

**Street Fighting**

When order was once more restored the new constitution which provided for manhood suffrage was submitted to the people and they proceeded to ballot for president. General Cavaignac was one of the candidates, as was also Louis Napoleon, who had already been chosen a member of the constitutional convention from several different districts, such was the popularity of his name. The full force of his connection with the dead emperor now made itself manifest. The propertied classes had been the worst sufferers in the events just passed. Business and commerce were at a standstill; property owners had seen their rents cut in half and more; and the peasants in the rural districts, with the increase in taxation, now found themselves saddled with the financial burden of the disastrous economic experiment so recently practised. The demand everywhere, as in 1799, was for peace and order and for that prosperity which was supposed to accompany it. The name Napoleon seemed to stand for just such a program. By an overwhelming vote, therefore, Louis Napoleon was elected President of the second French Republic.

**Louis Napoleon  
as President  
of the Second  
Republic**

Louis Napoleon for some time presented to his contemporaries as much of an enigma as did his great namesake. The key to his career is perhaps to be found in his ambition to follow in the

**His Imitation  
of Napoleon I**

footsteps of the great emperor. In 1849 he had written, "The name Napoleon is a complete program in itself; it stands for order, authority, religion, the welfare of the people within; without for national dignity." How far he realized this program, how far he was governed by the acts of his predecessor, how far he succeeded in building for himself a reputation comparable to the first emperor, are questions of absorbing interest to students of the work of the great Bonaparte.

**Personality of  
Louis Napoleon**

The personality of this one upon whom the mantle of the great Napoleon had fallen deserves more than a passing notice. Like his uncle's, his figure was short and unimposing, with legs which seemed much too short for his body. His wooden features masked most effectively his inmost thoughts, and his half-shut eyes strengthened the impression of dulness and apathy conveyed by the countenance as a whole. He has been pictured as a veritable Macchiavellian type, but he lacked the coolness and indifference to suffering which are usually associated with Macchiavelli's Prince. He was probably very much misunderstood and misjudged. His moral standards were probably little higher than those of the uncle whom he imitated, and his great weakness seems to have been an indecision which spelled disaster to many of his plans. He carefully weighed every method before adopting it, but unlike his model failed often to foresee the consequences of his acts and hesitated and drew back before his task was completed. There was much of the actor in his make-up. Time and again he showed a fondness for dramatic poses and stage setting, which often transformed a tragic situation into a veritable comedy.

**111. The Formation of the Second Empire.** — The new constitution which had been intrusted to his hands provided for a complete separation of the legislative from the executive functions, but furnished no adequate method of bringing these two together and harmonizing them in case differences arose. Although clearly defective, Napoleon hoped to refashion it in conformity with his own ideas. The legislative assembly un-

consciously played into the hands of the new president, who gradually absorbed all its power. As the end of his term of office as president drew near he made ready for the decisive step which was to make him virtual dictator. This *coup-d'état* was carefully arranged. He secured control of the army, placed his personal friends in the chief positions of the government, and on the morning of December 2, 1851, Paris awoke to find the city placarded with proclamations announcing the dismissal of the Assembly and proposing that Louis Napoleon be given the power of revising the framework of government. Several of the leading citizens had been arrested while still in their beds, and soldiers patrolled the city in the interests of the prince president. So much disgust had already been aroused over the attitude of the Assembly and so successfully had Louis Napoleon spread broadcast the idea that he was the friend of army, church, bourgeois, and peasant alike, that, with the exception of the radical element in Paris, which again indulged in street fighting, the country at large acquiesced in the *coup-d'état*. When, a year later, in pursuance of his ultimate goal, the president asked through a *plébiscite* for an expression of opinion as to the desirability of replacing the republic with an Empire, an overwhelming majority gave their assent, and the Second Empire came into being. The story of this transformation savors of sordidness and peanut politics. Such enthusiasm as attended the change was the result of a deification of Napoleon I and a blind faith that this new Napoleon was to usher in that golden age of which his great predecessor had sung in the days of his captivity and exile.

The  
Coup-d'État of  
Louis Napoleon

Establishment  
of the  
Second Empire

"The new empire means peace," the new emperor had said in a speech delivered at Bordeaux in June, but events soon showed how little correspondence there was between this pronouncement and the reality. On the other hand, there can be no question as to the zeal with which the new emperor labored to promote industry, to improve the lot of the laboring classes, and to

Policy of  
Napoleon III

develop the resources of his country. His ambitions in this direction he voiced in the following words: "I have many conquests to make. I wish to achieve economic and moral victories. Such are the conquests that I contemplate, and all of you who surround me, desire, like myself the welfare of the fatherland; you are my soldiers."

**Economic  
Development**

The period of the empire was marked by the construction of railroads and canals, the founding of great banking and credit institutions, by the completion of the Suez Canal, and by various enterprises which suggested themselves for the promotion of the national welfare of the French people. There were few periods marked by greater prosperity. Fortunes were made with surprising rapidity and an atmosphere of comfort and plenty marked the next quarter century.

**112. The New Empire and Europe: The Crimean War. —**

But from the very beginning the ambitions of the new emperor reached far beyond the borders of France, as befitted a nephew of the great Napoleon. His desire seems to have been to secure once more for France that leadership of Europe which was once hers, to undo the work done at Vienna in 1815, to summon another congress, which, inaugurated under French auspices, should usher in a new era in the history of nations. He posed as a believer in that doctrine of nationality which his great namesake had forgotten and the Congress of Vienna had ignored; in short, he stood ready to mix up in any complication, European, Asiatic, or American, which should redound to the glory of the Second Empire. He also felt the weakness of his position in France itself and thought to blind the eyes of Frenchmen to their loss of freedom at home by brilliant exploits abroad.

**Causes of the  
Crimean War**

His opportunity for attracting European attention came with the Crimean War, which was partly of his own creation. Russian designs upon Turkey and the revival by Napoleon III of certain claims to the protection of Christian shrines which had been formerly enjoyed by France but had been allowed to lapse, gradually brought Russia face to face with a war with Turkey



NAPOLEON III AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS POWER

The envoys of the King of Siam pay their respects to the emperor Napoleon III at his Palace of the Tuileries. The Empress Eugénie is seen seated at his left.



in which the latter was supported by England and France. The subjects in dispute and the conflict itself form one phase of the Eastern question which will be described later, but in this connection the Crimean War marked the entrance upon the



THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

Interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. The question as to whether the Greek or Roman Catholic Church should have the care of this shrine afforded Napoleon III an opportunity for the conflict with Russia known as the Crimean War.

#### Peace of Paris

now felt that France once more had her rightful place among the nations. It was at this meeting that certain rules were formulated for the conduct of war and that Sardinia was able to formulate her grievances against Austria and plead for the sympathy of Europe. Her place at the council table was a victory for the diplomacy of Count Cavour, of which more will be said later.

The Crimean War of 1854-56 was the first break in the

scene of Napoleon III as an important factor in the shaping of modern Europe. This struggle, which broke out in 1854 and closed two years later, was scarcely creditable to either France or England as a military or political undertaking. Mismanagement and lack of preparation were too much in evidence. The siege of Sebastopol was the chief episode of the war, and the death of the Tsar Nicholas and the accession of Alexander II opened the way for peace negotiations. It was with the greatest satisfaction that Napoleon III sat down at the council table in Paris and presided over the deliberations which resulted in the Peace of Paris. He

peaceful relations which had been maintained between the states of Europe for almost half a century.<sup>1</sup> It ushered in a period of less than twenty years in which four other great conflicts raged; the Italian War of 1859, the Danish War of 1864, the Seven Weeks' War of 1866 between Prussia and Austria, and the Franco-German struggle of 1870-71. Napoleon III, by entering into a struggle with Russia, had indeed unchained the dogs of war and unwittingly he had also sounded his own death knell and sealed the fate of the Second Empire. Out of these wars arose a new Germany, a new Austria, a united Italy, and contemporary France. The framers of the Vienna treaties would scarcely have recognized their handiwork when these wars had ended.



Influence of  
Napoleon III

COUNT CAVOUR

The great statesman of modern Italy.

**113. Mazzini and Cavour and the Struggle for Italian Unity.** — The kingdom of Italy owes its existence to three men, King Victor Emmanuel II, Count Cavour, and Garibaldi, aided and abetted, as well as hindered, by Napoleon III. After the atmosphere had cleared in Italy in 1849 (sec. 104) the new king of Sardinia, ably assisted by Count Cavour as minister, set himself to the task so hopelessly abandoned by his predecessor, Charles Albert, after Novara. The ten years which followed were years of preparation. Mazzini had labored not in vain to create throughout the peninsula a strong yearning for unity and was still actively working to attain this result. To Cavour, however, must be accorded the credit for the statesmanship and diplomacy that made of Mazzini's dream

Cavour

<sup>1</sup> See also in sec. 126.

a reality. Cavour was a confirmed optimist at an epoch when the future looked black and hopeless and the obstacles seemed insurmountable. His little eyes twinkled behind his glasses, and his rotund face and figure accorded well with a disposition which was inclined to look upon the bright side and, when one method failed, to try another. The king was essentially a soldier, and it is very much to his credit that he placed implicit confidence in his minister and supported him in all his plans. Both were convinced that the motto of their predecessor that "Italy can accomplish her task alone" must be abandoned, and they must look to outside help to remove the Austrian incubus and bring together the states of the peninsula. Cavour, however, first proceeded to set the Sardinian territories in order and introduced measures for the encouragement of industry and the improvement of the well-being of the people. Railroads were constructed, taxation simplified, the power of the church restricted, and finally a national army was organized and drilled after the model of the larger states of Europe.

**His Policy**

Cavour saw that France under the rule of Napoleon III was most likely to lend a willing ear to his schemes to free Italy. When, therefore, Napoleon III suggested that Sardinia should throw her weight in the balance against Russia in 1854 he gladly acquiesced, sending a small but well-drilled contingent to the Crimea. The Sardinians grumbled, but Cavour knew, as he remarked later, that while they were digging in the mud of the Crimean peninsula they were building out of that same mud a united Italy. The reward came in the admission of Sardinia to the deliberations at Paris in 1856, where, in spite of the remonstrances of Austria, Cavour ably presented the sad state of Italy under her domination. Cavour now sought a definite assurance of French assistance in the event of a war with Austria. The emperor hesitated, but finally, in a celebrated meeting with Cavour at Plombières, yielded to the importunities of the Sardinian minister and agreed to support Sardinia with an army

**Alliance  
with France**

**Its Reward**

**Meeting at  
Plombières**

in case war should be declared upon Austria. Austria was warned of the impending conflict by the emperor at a reception to the foreign ambassadors. On this occasion he expressed his sorrow that the relations of France and Austria were not as friendly as of yore. Almost simultaneously King Victor Emmanuel in an address before the Sardinian parliament insisted that Italy's cry of suffering demanded speedy action. A pretext for war was soon found. Austria played into the hands of Cavour by serving an ultimatum upon Sardinia to disarm, and in 1859 the struggle opened. Napoleon III brought 200,000 soldiers into the Po Valley, and within a few months the combined forces had inflicted severe blows upon the Austrians at Magenta and Solferino. Napoleon III, however, seems to have taken alarm at these successes and to the astonishment and disgust of his ally hastened to conclude an armistice at Villafranca, which was a little later embodied in a more permanent form as the Peace of Zurich. The Sardinian king and his minister felt that Napoleon had backed down before his task was half completed. Napoleon III was fearful of the intervention of Prussia as well as of complications with the Church and probably had no thought of calling into being a powerful Italian state to rival France.

Austro-  
Sardinian War

Peace of Zurich

As a result of this treaty of peace Lombardy was united to Sardinia, and the French Emperor received as a reward for his assistance Nice and Savoy. These latter were portions of the hereditary possessions of the Sardinian sovereign, but were in reality less Italian than the other territories which he ruled. The French Emperor had builded better than he knew. The hopes which he had aroused could not be stifled nor could the forces which he had set in motion be diverted from their object, and the people of the small states of Parma, Modena, Tuscany and Romagna, who had already expelled their rulers, voted by large majorities to unite with the new kingdom of Italy.

Gains of  
Sardinia  
and France

Annexations of  
Parma,  
Modena,  
Tuscany and  
Romagna

**114. The Completion of Italian Unity.**—Meanwhile Garibaldi had set sail from Genoa with a thousand red-shirted

**Garibaldi and  
his Thousand**

volunteers to take advantage of the discontent in the South. Landing at Marsala, Sicily, his little army carried everything before it and crossing over to the mainland soon put to rout the forces of King Ferdinand II, the weak, narrow-minded ruler of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Cavour had secretly supported Garibaldi's enterprise and now wished Sardinia to profit



GARIBALDI

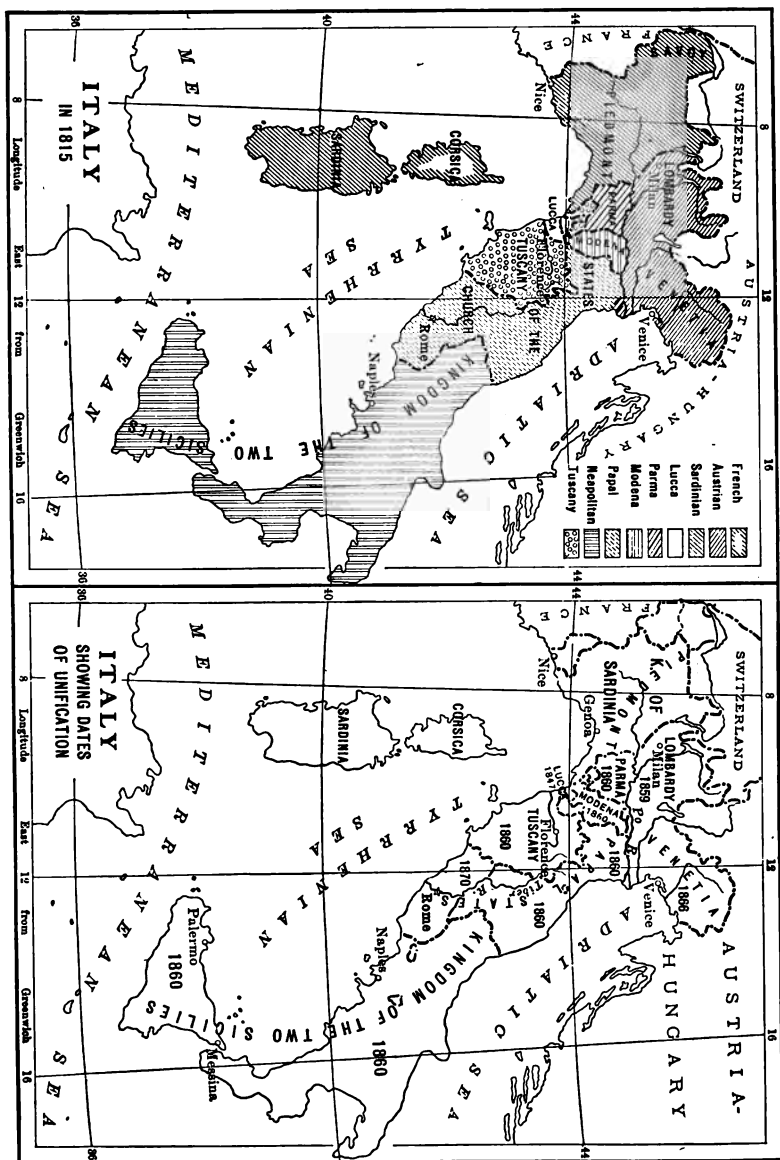
by it. The opposition of Napoleon III and the Pope were the principal obstacles in his path. The problem presented by the power of the papacy was too delicate and too closely connected with the interests of many of the states of Europe to precipitate a struggle just at this time. He was able, however, to throw the Sardinian forces under King Victor Emmanuel into Naples and not only incorporate the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, but the papal states of Umbria and the

Marches as well. In every case the question of incorporation with Sardinia was submitted to the people themselves and ratified by an overwhelming vote. The parliament of the new Italian kingdom was opened amid acclamations in the city of Turin in 1860. Venetia and part of the papal states, however, were still to be won.

These acquisitions came as the result of the two struggles which contributed so largely to the unification of Germany. Prussia had placed herself at the head of this movement, as will be discussed later. When Bismarck undertook to crush Austria he looked about him to secure either the active coöperation or the benevolent neutrality of the states who were interested in his efforts. He found in Victor Emmanuel a willing ally who was glad to throw the influence of the new kingdom upon the side of Prussia. Although the Italian army which he put in the

**Annexation  
of Naples**

**Alliance  
between  
Prussia  
and Italy**



field against Austria was beaten on the battlefield of Custoza, the success of the Prussians at Sadowa made Prussia master of the situation and in the treaty which followed Bismarck was not unmindful of his ally, rewarding him with the coveted Venetian territories.

**Annexation  
of Venetia**



MONUMENT TO VICTOR EMMANUEL

This magnificent monument, erected in the Piazza Venezia, Rome, in honor of Victor Emmanuel, the first king of united Italy, has only recently been completed. It stands but a stone's throw from the ancient Forum, and the Capitol Hill is directly back of it.

**Influence of  
the Franco-  
German War  
on the Unifica-  
tion of Italy**

Rome fell into the hands of Victor Emmanuel in consequence of the struggle between France and Prussia, which broke out in 1870. The Emperor Napoleon was obliged to withdraw the French troops which had been placed there three years before and the troops of Victor Emmanuel occupied the city without a struggle. The pope, however, refused to acknowledge the incorporation of his state with the kingdom of Italy and shut



GARIBALDI'S RED-SHIRTED VOLUNTEERS

They are here seen fighting behind a barricade. This picture is based upon a contemporary sketch.



**"The Prisoner  
of the Vatican"**

himself up in his palace of the Vatican where he has continued to maintain a court befitting his claims as a temporal ruler, receiving and sending representatives to those Catholic courts of Europe who continue to recognize his claims to princely authority. The King of Italy was careful not to alienate his Catholic



THE VATICAN

This unusual view of the Vatican Palace at Rome, the papal residence, is taken from the roof of St. Peter's Cathedral, which is nearby. The Vatican is the largest palace in the world, and contains the famous Vatican Library with its priceless collections of manuscripts, Christian antiquities, and jewels; museums with some of the greatest statuary and paintings in the world; and the exquisitely beautiful Sistine Chapel, on the walls and ceilings of which are the greatest works of art of all time.

subjects by forcing the pope to recognize an established fact. The Italian parliament, to compensate the pope for his loss of revenue, has set aside a large annual grant for the maintenance of the successor of St. Peter in a state worthy of his position as the head of a great church. These moneys the pope has stead-

fastly refused to accept, and to this day the occupants of the papal chair have lived and died within the sacred precincts of the Vatican palace and its grounds.

Some of the problems before the new kingdom have already been suggested. Besides this hostility between church and state and the divided allegiance it encouraged, which communicated itself to the political parties, there were such questions as taxation, education, and the maintenance of a proper position in Europe. Sardinia had not completed this task without piling up a certain legacy for its future leaders. The kingdom had been set up in part by force, and it seemed a wise policy to continue to maintain a large standing army. This involved additional taxation. The people of the peninsula had been misgoverned so long and so little attention had been paid to their welfare that poverty, ignorance, and crime were rampant, especially in the South. It was almost as big a task to create an enlightened progressive state out of this chaos as to evolve a political union out of the geographical expression of 1815. The form of government which was devised to meet these tasks was simply an expansion of the constitution granted to Sardinia in 1849 and resembled the English governmental system, providing for a parliament of two houses, a cabinet and a prime minister responsible to the law-making authority, and a kingship hereditary in the House of Savoy. The privilege of voting was restricted — perhaps wisely — to those possessed of certain educational qualifications, and seats in parliament were filled by an indirect method of choosing delegates. The Anglo-Saxon party system was unknown, but this does not mean that there were no parties. The word "party" had a different meaning. It is applied in Italy, as in so many of the other states of Europe, to certain groups. Like the glass in a kaleidoscope, they combine first in one way and then in another and lack permanency of existence and a continuous policy.

**The  
Organization  
and Problems  
of the  
New Kingdom  
of Italy**

**Form of  
Government**

**115. The Rise of Prussian Leadership in Germany.** — While the events just named were taking place, Germany

The Failure  
of 1848  
in Germany  
and its Lessons

The  
Zollverein

Prussia's  
Darkest Hour

was undergoing an equally important transformation. Napoleon III again proved himself an important if albeit an unwilling factor in the creation of modern Germany. The aspirations of German patriots had been dealt a severe blow in 1848 (sec. 102). A movement originating with the people themselves was apparently foredoomed to failure. One lesson taught at this time was that either Prussia or Austria must undertake the task of uniting Germany if there was to be a united nation, assuming, of course, that they could not work together to achieve this result. The map itself emphasizes this fact, with the east and the west controlled by Prussia, which stretched like a great dumb-bell across the territory included within the Confederation, and with the great Austrian mass thrusting itself into the very heart of Germany. It seemed most unlikely that the forty states would willingly give up any of their privileges or prerogatives. The strongest pressure must be exerted from without upon these petty principalities and kingdoms to effect a merging of their separate sovereignties into one powerful organism. They had already seen the advantages of union upon the economic side in the formation and extension of the Zollverein or Customs Union which was launched by Prussia back in the early part of the century. Up to the time of its formation, trade between the different states had been almost as difficult to carry on as was the case between the different parts of France in the days before the French Revolution. One by one the states of the Confederation of 1815 had been admitted to this union, all but Austria, who was not wanted on any condition.

The jealousy between Austria and Prussia had by this time become most acute. The humiliation of Olmütz had given Austria the whip hand, and in the meetings of the Confederation her representatives assumed a conscious air of superiority. As president of the Confederation she dictated such terms as pleased her to the other representatives around the council table. It was one of Prussia's darkest hours; but with the acces-

sion of William I and the coming into power of Otto von Bismarck the dawn began to break. Both William I and Bismarck were of one mind as to the future of Prussia and the task which lay before her. The conditions just described and the increasing possibility of a general European conflict involving the great states of Europe, so apparent in 1859 (sec. 113), showed the necessity of a strong army and of military prestige. When William I came to the throne he was a man of over sixty, called to take up a great task in what seemed to be the very evening of life, not knowing at what moment death might call him to lay it down. He was possessed of a vigorous constitution, however, and contrary to his own expectations and those of his people, it was given him to pass another quarter-century and more in the service of his country — the most important period of his entire life. He was a soldier by training, having seen service as far back as the War of Liberation (sec. 80), and he believed in the army. He was not a clever man, nor a great statesman; he was honest, straightforward, and possessed of a large measure of common sense. To his ministers he gave his entire support, although often doubting the wisdom of their measures. He presented a great contrast to the man whom he called to his side in 1862 to be the pilot of the fortunes of the Hohenzollerns. Bismarck had begun his political career as the friend of Austria. After serving as a delegate in the meetings of the Confederation, his eyes had been opened and he became her confirmed enemy. Besides, he was convinced that there was only one way to make Prussia the leader of Germany, and that was by force. He belonged to the class which in England was known as the country squires. His was a big figure, with a massive head, from which shone piercing eyes crowned by shaggy eyebrows. He was a master of duplicity, and yet with all his lies and subterfuges he combined a certain frankness and sincerity which was even more deceptive than his falsehoods. Although deeply religious, he took care not to let his piety interfere with his

diplomacy, and presents, therefore, a curious combination upon which it is difficult to pass judgment. Brutal and overbearing when master of the situation, he was inclined to give utterance to harsh, biting, epigrammatic statements when brought face to face with his adversaries. He was possessed of one aim, and that aim was never contaminated by personal or sordid motives. In this respect he was a true patriot, being willing to bear the brunt of all criticism and opposition for the sake of the country whose interests he served.

**116. Bismarck and the Reform of the Army.** — Bismarck was called to the king's side at a critical moment in Prussia's existence. William I had set himself to the task of reorganizing the army and of enforcing the custom of universal service which had been instituted fifty years before in the effort to expel Napoleon. Although the law provided for three years of service, it was only possible with the moneys available to provide for two. Many were escaping the burden altogether, as there were not enough regiments organized to receive the recruits. William I immediately enlarged these regiments, thereby increasing the number of recruits from 40,000 to 60,000, and restored the three years of service. His plans were opposed by the Prussian Assembly, which objected to the financial burden involved. Then ensued a struggle between the king and the legislature, comparable in some respects to that between Charles I and his parliament, and it seemed as though one or the other must yield or a revolution ensue. Finally, in 1862, the legislature, i.e. the lower house, where the opposition centred, absolutely refused to sanction any further expenditures for the army. The king was on the point of abdicating when he was persuaded to call to his assistance Otto von Bismarck. The king and the new minister soon came to an understanding, and for the next four years Bismarck bullied and threatened and browbeat the opponents of the king's plans, maintaining them successfully against all opposition. The budget was framed and taxes collected without the sanction of the lower house, king and minister

Beginnings  
of Prussian  
Militarism

Struggle with  
the Legislature

"Blood  
and Iron"

taking refuge behind the wording of the constitution, which was twisted to suit their plans.

The newly created army was soon needed, as trouble arose between Denmark and the Confederation over the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. The difficulty was with reference to the possession of these two provinces — a question which had already disturbed the peace not alone of Germany but of all Europe. The rival claims and conflicting interests at stake are difficult of analysis. The English statesman, Lord Palmerston, once said there were only three persons who ever understood the Schleswig-Holstein question. One was dead, the second went mad, and the third was himself, and he had forgotten what it was all about. In the reopening of this problem in 1863, Bismarck saw not alone an opportunity of using the newly created army, but the possibility of a final reckoning with Austria and ultimately the addition of some valuable seacoast to the Prussian dominions. The king of Denmark, in asserting his claims to the provinces, both of which were largely German in race, language, and culture, found himself in a position where right seemed to be on the side of his opponents. Prussia was anxious to settle the question by force, and Austria felt obliged to share with her the leadership of the enterprise, as it was a matter of great interest to the Confederation as a whole. It would not do for her to seem to give way to Prussia. War followed in 1864, and in a brief campaign the Danes were severely beaten, notwithstanding their heroic defence against overwhelming odds. They were finally forced to conclude a treaty by which the two provinces were turned over to the two victors. Then arose the problem of their administration. An agreement was drawn up between Austria and Prussia known as the Convention of Gastein. By its terms, it would seem that Bismarck deliberately planned to make of the situation an occasion for a break with Austria. At any rate, Austria certainly played into his hands and gave him just the opportunity which he was seeking.

The Danish  
War

The Schleswig-  
Holstein  
Question

The Convention  
of Gastein

**117. The Seven Weeks' War and the Exclusion of Austria from Germany.** — This assignment of one province to Austria and the other to Prussia created a very real difficulty for Austria, as her province of Holstein was far removed from the seat of government and, had the truth been known, she would probably have been glad to be rid of it. That Bismarck was seeking to embarrass Austria and provoke her indignation seems to be shown by the conclusion at this time of a commercial treaty between the Zollverein and the Italian kingdom. When Austria showed her resentment by countenancing certain claims to the two duchies which were put forth by a native prince, the way was prepared for an open break. Austria's act was popular in Germany but was contrary to the Treaty of Gastein. Austria, however, declared the treaty at an end and appealed to the Diet of the German Confederation to sustain her in this action against Prussia. When the diet ordered the mobilization of troops, the Prussian envoy declared Prussia to be no longer bound by the terms of the Confederation and laid before the members proposals for a new union which should exclude Austria and accept Prussia instead as the head of the organization. This invitation was spurned by many of the states, and war followed. Prussia not only faced Austria but almost all of Germany, as powerful states like Hanover lined up with Austria. Bismarck had already forestalled the possibility of European interference. The greatest source of danger was from France, because of her ambitious ruler, who had long sought to regulate not only French affairs but those of Europe as well. An alliance with Italy had been secured by the promise of Venetia, and, in an interview at Biarritz, Bismarck secured the friendly neutrality of Napoleon III, probably inspiring him with the hope that this attitude would be rewarded either by some cession of territory or by a similar benevolent neutrality when he should undertake to carry out some of those schemes which had long been fermenting in his brain. Napoleon III met his match as an intriguer in his deal-

Causes of  
the War

Attitude  
of France

ings with the great Chancellor and was cleverly outwitted, as the future was to show.

The armies of Prussia were so skilfully handled under the masterly guidance of the great strategist, Von Moltke, that the struggle which Napoleon III had hoped would last for at least two years, or until both were exhausted, was terminated inside of seven weeks. Forces were first despatched against Prussia's foes in north Germany, and a concentration of the Prussian forces on the plains of Bohemia made easy the defeat of Austria's great army of 250,000. This battle, which is known as Sadowa or Königgrätz, was, up to this time, one of the greatest conflicts in history in the number of forces engaged. The Austrians lost 40,000 in dead, wounded, and prisoners. Its results were decisive, as negotiations were immediately opened for peace, notwithstanding the success of the Austrians against the Italians on land at Custozza and at sea in the battle of Lissa. Bismarck was careful not to offend Austria unduly in the terms which he offered, as he foresaw that he might sorely need her friendship in the near future. He did not, therefore, ask for any cession of Austrian territory except Venetia, and was content with the annexation to Prussia of Schleswig and Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Homburg, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfort, and with the incorporation of the remaining states of northern Germany in the new confederation known as the North German Confederation, which was formed under Prussian leadership. Austria was excluded from this or any future arrangement.

**The Humbling  
of Austria**

**Sadowa**

**The North  
German  
Confederation**

The Confederation was composed of twenty-two states, i.e. of all the German states except those of the South, viz., the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and the Grand Duchy of Baden. It was a federal union, as all the states retained control of their internal affairs. The government was composed of a *Reichstag* elected by universal suffrage, a *Bundesrath*, or federal council representing the governments of the separate states and an hereditary president, the King of



Prussia, assisted by a chancellor. Provision was made for a powerful army, organized on the Prussian model and placed under Prussian leadership. By the organization of the North German Confederation, Bismarck had perfected the military union of Germany. It now remained for him to realize a political union.

The exclusion of Austria from Germany was followed immediately by an attempt of the former to set her own house in order. Ever since the Revolution of 1848 there had been unrest in the Austrian territories. For ten years after the revolution reaction had reigned supreme and the German element alone had received recognition. This condition could not last, as a strong nationalistic feeling was shown by the Magyar element in Hungary. While the government was experimenting first with a federal and then with a centralized system of administration, the Seven Weeks' War broke out. The close of the war (1867) saw the settlement of the relations between Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary by the *Ausgleich* or Compromise. By these arrangements Austria and Hungary each formed entirely independent kingdoms with Francis Joseph as the ruler over the two. The crown was to be hereditary in the Hapsburg family. Each kingdom was to have its separate organization consisting of a ministry and a diet or legislature composed of two houses. Provision was made for a common ministry composed of three ministers, of foreign affairs, of war, and of finance. In addition to this group of ministers, delegations elected by the Hungarian diet and the Austrian parliament met twice a year to consider matters of common interest to both realms, such as relations with outside states, and especially to pass upon the budget submitted by the common ministry. Each monarchy was also to have its own postal system. The two interlocked kingdoms were known thenceforth as the dual monarchy. Although the principle of nationality was not fully recognized, a long step was taken in that direction. The emperor issued a new constitutional law in December of this

**The Ausgleich  
or Compromise  
of 1867**

**The Dual  
Monarchy**

same year (1867), proclaiming equal rights for all the nationalities composing the empire and guaranteeing to each the right to maintain and cultivate its own language.

**118. Intrigues and Enterprises of Napoleon III.** — There was still south Germany to be won before Bismarck's work was complete. In the recent conflict these states had adhered to Austria and were little inclined to follow the lead of Prussia. Bismarck's opportunity to complete his task came as the result of the activities of Napoleon III. The disappointment of the latter that the war had terminated so quickly was keen, but his vanity had been flattered by the fact that he had been called in as mediator and that Venice had been turned over to him to be transferred to Italy. He now looked to Bismarck for the reward of his neutrality — for the little *trinkgeld*, as his enemies called it, which his services seemed to demand. All of his suggestions for an increase of French territory at the expense of the neighbors upon his northern frontier were not only flouted but were revealed to the intended victims, and the emperor soon found himself an object of suspicion in every quarter. So great was the fear which these overtures aroused among the south German states that they secretly allied themselves with Prussia in the event of a war breaking out between them and France.

Alliance  
of South  
German States  
with Prussia

The war cloud was fast forming between France and Prussia. Napoleon III had not only been thwarted in his ambitions to profit by the misfortunes of his neighbors and to extend the frontiers of his empire to the Rhine, but had suffered a severe reverse in the new world. As early as 1860 he had conceived the idea of reviving a great Latin empire in the Western hemisphere, where French influence should predominate. The opportunity came with a revolution in Mexico. The successful leader brought upon himself European intervention by repudiating certain debts owed by the Mexican government to its foreign creditors, among whom were France and Spain. Napoleon III suggested an expedition to bring the Mexicans to terms, and his

Napoleon III  
in Mexico

proposal was accepted and an army despatched in 1861. But when his allies saw that the recovery of these moneys was merely a pretext to shape the future of Mexico, they quickly abandoned the enterprise. Napoleon thereupon sent larger forces and proposed to one of the factions in Mexico the acceptance as their emperor of the Archduke Maximilian, the brother of the ruler of Austria and one time governor of northern Italy. He hoped by this suggestion to win the support of Austria and to square himself with the Pope and the orthodox Catholics, whose support he had lost by his attitude towards Italy. Various circumstances combined to bring about the failure of the project. Too great a distance intervened between Mexico and the base of operations, and unfortunately for his plans the United States, which up to this time had been preoccupied with the Civil War, now interfered (1865) and, invoking the Monroe Doctrine, adopted a threatening attitude toward Napoleon. He was therefore obliged to abandon his candidate, and the Emperor Maximilian, now forced to depend upon his own inadequate resources, soon fell into the hands of a hostile faction and was condemned to death and shot. The news of this failure was a serious blow to the prestige of the emperor, not alone in Europe but in France as well. He now felt it to be imperative to strike some blow in Europe which should counteract the effects of this catastrophe and give his dynasty in France a new lease of life. The most popular move he could make was against Prussia, which indeed, if unchecked, threatened soon to possess herself of the commanding position which he had sought to secure for France.

Interference  
of the  
United States

The Question  
of the Spanish  
Succession

119. **Outbreak of the Franco-German War.** — An opportunity soon presented itself in the effort to fill the Spanish throne, which had become vacant through a revolution. Bismarck is said to have suggested as a candidate Leopold of Hohenzollern, a distant relative of the Prussian king, with the ulterior purpose of stirring up strife with France. Whatever his part may have been, this candidacy aroused great opposition in France. "If

## AN INCIDENT OF THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR

From the painting by the French artist, Detaille. The scene illustrates the character of the fighting, the uniforms worn, and the equipment of the Prussian army. A dead French officer is being carried out of a building which has just been taken by the Prussian forces.



Prussia is permitted to install a proconsul upon our frontiers, if the news is not false," declared one writer, "we are 38,000,000 prisoners." A protest was immediately lodged with the king of Prussia, as the head of the Hohenzollern family. He was asked to use his influence to secure the withdrawal of the candidacy of his relative. As the result of these efforts and the friendly intervention of England, Austria and Russia, Leopold refused to allow his name to be considered. By this time the temper of the French people had been aroused to fever heat, and a strong war feeling showed itself, particularly among the members of the legislature. The war party was not satisfied with the act of the king of Prussia in the renunciation of the prince but wished assurances from him that his relative would not be put forward as a candidate at any time in the future. Bismarck saw in the situation an excellent ground for war and probably did all in his power to bring matters to a crisis. This was not difficult, as the French Minister, Gramont, and the Empress Eugénie, supported by the war party, were utterly devoid of prudence and seemed bent on but one decision, an appeal to arms. Acting upon instructions from his government the French ambassador Benedetti sought an interview with the king of Prussia at Ems, where he was sojourning for his health, to secure from the Prussian ruler a complete disavowal of any interest in this candidacy, present, past, or future. The interview was twisted by the press of France and of Germany, with the aid of Bismarck, into an insult to Prussia on the one hand, and to France, on the other. The French government, as perhaps Bismarck had expected, declared war first, and with this move the carefully laid plans of Moltke and Bismarck were put into immediate execution.

The Franco-German War of 1870-71, like its predecessor, the Seven Weeks' War, was a conflict waged on scientific principles. The forces were moved by the aid of the railroad and telegraph like pawns upon a chess board, dependence being placed upon massing the forces where they would deal the most effective

Trickery of  
Bismarck

Interview  
at Ems

blows. The story goes that Moltke, upon hearing the news of the declaration of war, drew from a cabinet a series of documents in which every step in the mobilization had been carefully worked out and that these plans were carried out almost to the letter by the Prussian staff. The mobilization of the French forces stands out in sharp contrast with the foresight and preparedness shown in Prussia. Although the French leaders had boasted of their readiness, "even to the last button," and had pointed with pride and confidence to their achievements upon the battlefields of Magenta and Solferino, events soon revealed the demoraliza-

**Preparedness  
of Prussia**



GEN. VON MOLTKE

Gen. von Moltke was the military genius who planned the strategy of the Franco-German War.

tion which prevailed and the political corruption which everywhere undermined the entire military organization. Commanders were without maps of the localities in which they were to operate; soldiers were without equipment; officers were without the armies which they were supposed to lead. Too much confidence was also placed in the supposed weakness of their adversaries. From almost the very outset of the struggle the advantages were all on the side of Prussia. The southern states of Germany supported her most loyally, and Napoleon was not only disappointed here, but found himself entirely isolated in the struggle, without a friend in Europe. Bismarck's plans had been carefully laid; nowhere was there a move among the other European nations to intervene in behalf of France.

**Demoralization  
of the French**

**Isolation  
of France**

**The Campaigns** The battle-fields of the war were upon French soil, as the French attempt to invade Germany came to nothing. Directed as they were by a single brain, the Prussian armies coöperated with each other most successfully, whereas the French forces, lacking this, were outgeneralled and beaten upon every impor-



NAPOLEON III AND BISMARCK

In sharp contrast to the splendor of the court scene shown on page 263 is this scene showing the broken Emperor Napoleon III after the battle of Sedan, discussing the terms of his surrender with the haughty Bismarck.

tant battle-field. A great force under Bazaine was shut up in Metz, and Napoleon himself, with another great force under MacMahon, was surrounded and forced to give battle under most unfavorable circumstances at Sedan. Then followed one of the most decisive defeats in history, in which the French army finally surrendered to forces led by King William himself. Napoleon was taken prisoner, and when the news of the disaster reached Paris his deposition was decreed and a republic proclaimed. The battle of Sedan saw the second empire pass out of

existence. After his release Napoleon spent the rest of his days in England. The large force shut up in the great fortress of Metz was practically betrayed by its commander and disgracefully surrendered. The final operations of the war centred

Fall of the  
Second Empire



BISMARCK'S PEACE TERMS

Bismarck lays down the terms of the conqueror before the representatives of the French nation. At the right Thiers is stricken with humiliation at the tremendous price which France must pay for her unpreparedness. In the background Favre has risen from his chair as if to protest against the humiliating terms. Bismarck is scornfully indifferent to their distress.

about the city of Paris, which was subjected to one of the severest sieges in its history.

**120. The Close of the War and the Formation of the German Empire.** — The proclamation of the republic had been followed by the organization of a Government of National Defence. The outcome of the struggle now rested largely in the hands of





THE PROCLAMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

The culmination of the work of Bismarck was the proclamation of the German Empire in the historic palace at Versailles. Bismarck and von Moltke are seen facing the Emperor William I, whose stately figure seems to stiffen with pride at the realization of his ambition.

Thiers and Gambetta. The former sought to secure aid, but without success, from the various courts of Europe; Gambetta escaped from Paris in a balloon and sought to arouse the provinces and to organize new armies for the relief of the capital. The odds, however, were too great to be overcome. It is true that armies were raised, but they were often ill-equipped and imperfectly drilled. Although they displayed great valor they were no match for the splendid military machine created by the genius and foresight of their antagonists. Alsace and Lorraine had been entirely lost in the opening campaigns; the investment of Paris was more and more complete, so that food became scarce and the hardships of the siege were sorely felt. Negotiations were opened for peace. Although the Government of National Defence had declared that they would not cede one inch of French soil, they were forced to accept the harsh terms imposed by their conquerors — the cession of Alsace and Lorraine with the great fortresses of Metz and Strasburg, which maintained an open door into French territory, and the payment within three years of what appeared in those days to be a huge war indemnity, \$1,000,000,000.

**Establishment  
of the  
Third Republic**

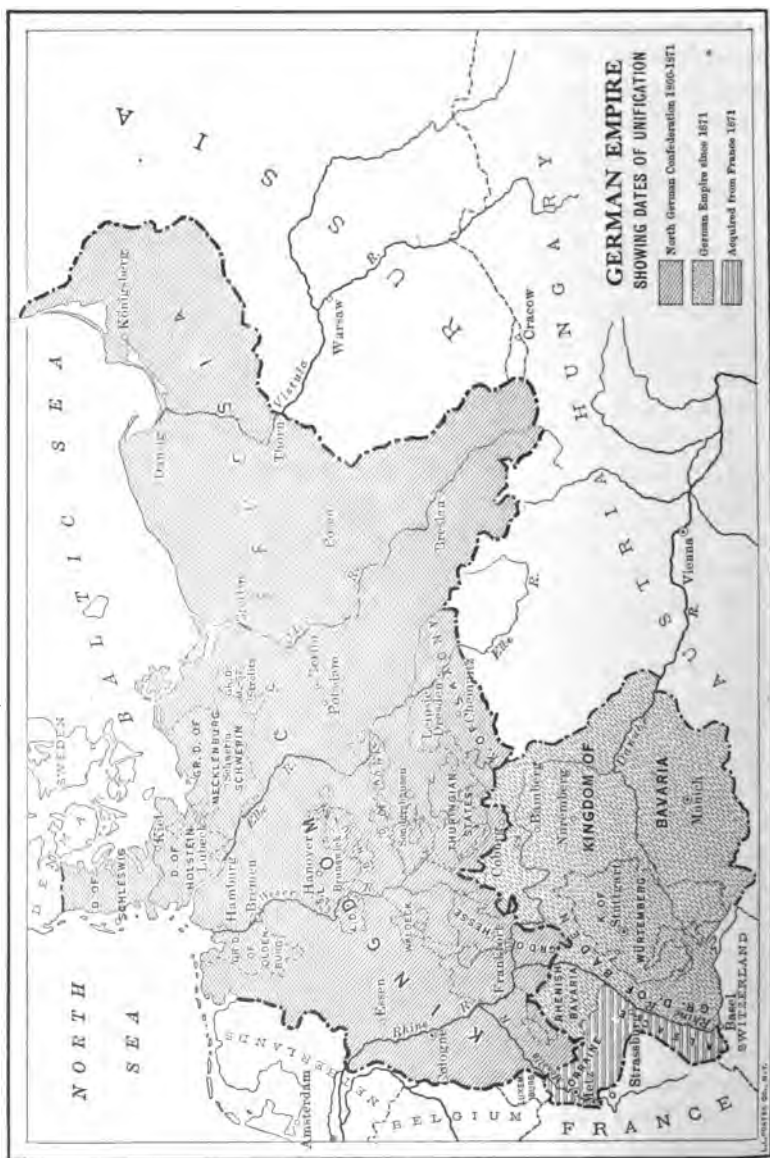
**Siege of Paris**

**Terms of Peace**

The terms were signed by the officials of the newly created German Empire, which received its finishing touches while the siege of Paris was still in progress. Bismarck cleverly prevailed upon some of the south German princes to invite King William of Prussia to be the ruler of united Germany, and amid great acclamations he was proclaimed German Emperor at a magnificent ceremony in the hall of mirrors of the palace at Versailles. The form of government adopted for the North German Confederation in 1867 became the basis of the government of the new German Empire. Had the step now taken depended upon King William of Prussia alone, it is doubtful if he would have taken it at all, as he had more than once hesitated in crises of this sort. The Iron Chancellor, however, was at his elbow and overcame by clever management any scruples which he might have had. Long days and nights he had labored to

**Establishment  
of the  
German Empire**

**Triumph  
of Bismarck's  
Policy**



bring the opportunity to pass and he did not propose to let the prize slip through his fingers. The policy of blood and iron had triumphed. The success of the work the future was to demonstrate.

#### SUGGESTIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Describe the February revolution. 2. Explain why the socialists were temporarily in control and what results followed. 3. Show how the capitalists regained control of the government. 4. Explain the electoral law of May, 1850. 5. Describe the reestablishment of the empire. 6. Compare the *coup-d'état* of Napoleon I with that of Louis Napoleon. 7. Show the despotic character of Napoleon III's government. 8. Prove the prosperity of France under his rule. 9. What was Metternich's estimate of the February revolution in France? 10. Summarize the history of Switzerland from 1814 to 1848. 11. Discuss the problem of nationality in Austria-Hungary. 12. Give a biographical sketch of Kossuth. 13. Give an account of the March revolution in Vienna. 14. What became of Metternich? 15. Describe the reforms in Hungary. 16. What reforms were demanded by Lombardy-Venetia? 17. Describe the meeting of the national assembly at Frankfurt. 18. Give an account of the failure of the revolution in Bohemia and Austria. 19. Give an account of the beginning of the reign of Francis Joseph. 20. Comment upon the statement, "You Magyars are only an island in an ocean of Slavs." 21. Describe the republican movements in Italy, 1848-9. 22. Show how the king of Prussia thwarted the attempts of the Prussian people to obtain a constitutional government. 23. Give biographical sketches of the following: Mazzini, Pius IX, Victor Emmanuel II, Cavour, Garibaldi. 24. Compare Cavour's foreign policy with that of Italy today. 25. Discuss Napoleon III's rôle in Italian unification. 26. How was the creation of united Italy related to the creation of the modern German empire? 27. Describe the Italian constitution. 28. What is the present relation between the kingdom of Italy and the Pope? 29. Explain how economic conditions paved the way for political union in Germany. 30. Was Bismarck responsible for the European War of 1914? 31. Describe the Schleswig-Holstein affair. 32. What were the two aims in forming the North German Confederation? 33. Give an account of the Maximilian episode. 34. Show the bearing of each of the following on the Franco-German war: the question of the Spanish candidature, the Ems despatch, the desire of Prussia for leadership in Germany. 35. Discuss the terms of the treaty ending this war in the light of the European War of 1914.

#### COLLATERAL READING

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- II. CAVOUR AND THE CREATION OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.  
 Jeffery, *The New Europe*, pp. 270-83. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, pp. 353-98. Hazen, pp. 215-39. Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 84-6, 90-8. Fyffe, pp. 715-8, 738-9, 742-7, 770-81, 866-908. Andrews, Vol. II, pp. 91-145. Seignobos, *Contemporary Civilization*, pp. 269-81. Stillman, *Union of Italy*, 1815-95. Cesaresco, *Cavour*, pp. 73-220. Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 163-75.
- III. BISMARCK AND GERMAN UNITY.  
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- IV. THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR.  
 Hazen, pp. 285-302. Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 118-23. Jeffery, pp. 324-43. Priest, pp. 113-9. Henderson, Vol. II, pp. 411-50. Jane, pp. 230-52. Hawkesworth, pp. 329-46. Headlam, pp. 315-76. Hayes, Vol. II, pp. 175-80, 198-201.
- V. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.  
 Clarke, *Modern Spain*, 1815-98. Hazen, pp. 564-78. Ogg, pp. 603-46. Gooch, *History of Our Time*, pp. 65-81.
- VI. THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES.  
 Hazen, pp. 592-600. Ogg, pp. 553-601.
- VII. THE LOW COUNTRIES.  
 Hazen, pp. 579-83. Ogg, pp. 517-51.

### SOURCE STUDIES

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2. Dr. Evans's characterization of Napoleon III. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-4.
3. Signs of revolt in Venetia and Lombardy, 1848. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-7.
4. Decree establishing the Roman republic, 1849. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-9.
5. Kossuth's address to the people of the United States. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-8.
6. Mazzini's instructions to the members of Young Italy. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-8.
7. Cavour's views. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-9.
8. Napoleon III justifies his intervention in Italy. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-3.
9. Garibaldi describes his work in Sicily and Naples. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-8.
10. Pope Pius IX on the unification of Italy. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
11. A review of the economic situation in Italy, 1906. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-41.
12. Bismarck's views on the crisis in Prussia. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-4.

13. King William explains to his people the cause of the war with Austria. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-6. (Compare with William II's explanation of the Great War of 1914.)
14. Bismarck and the Austro-Prussian War. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-50.
15. Bismarck and the Franco-German War. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-61.
16. Proclamation of the German empire at Versailles. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-5.
17. Basis of the constitution of Austria-Hungary. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-8.
18. The Austrian election of 1906. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-4.
19. The undemocratic government of Hungary. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-5.
20. Bismarck on cabinet government. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-7.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

1. On an outline map of eastern Europe show the territorial divisions at the time of the Crimean War. 2. On an outline map of Italy show the various steps in the process of unification. 3. Show the North German Confederation; illustrate the Schleswig-Holstein affair and the Austro-Prussian War. 4. On a map of western Europe show the campaigns of the Franco-German War. 5. Draw a map of the Empire of Austria-Hungary, show its political divisions, and indicate the problems of nationality.

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## CHAPTER X

### THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE IN ASIA AND IN AFRICA

#### THE NEAR EAST AND AFRICA

**121. Conditions Favorable to the Spread of European Influence in Asia and in Africa.** — The states of Europe had long shown an interest in colonial enterprise and in the opening up of new lands across distant seas. Their activities in the new world and in the great empire of India form one of the most important aspects of the history of modern times. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century there were still great areas of the earth's surface comparatively untouched and all but unknown. The years which followed the advent among the nations of the two new states of Germany and Italy witnessed a renewal of colonial activity and a keen interest in the vast continents of Asia and Africa. This interest not only resulted in the spread of European civilization to the uttermost parts of the earth, but widened so tremendously the bounds of European history that it has merged itself with world history. The explanation of this latest phase of a movement which dates back to the sixteenth century is to be found in part in the great strides in the means of transportation and communication and in commerce and industry which mark the period since 1870.

**Merging  
of European  
History  
and World  
History**

The transforming force of the industrial revolution in England in the eighteenth century has already been described in some detail. Wonderful changes followed the improvements in the means of transportation through the introduction of steam, the building of roads, and the opening of canals. Even greater miracles in the annihilation of space and the saving of time

**The  
Develop-  
ment of Trans-  
portation and of  
Means of  
Communication**



mark the later periods, especially the epoch which opened about 1870. The possibilities of the steamship, the railroad, the telegraph, and the canal were realized as never before in the history of man, and the improvements of the past half century have been of such a nature as to revolutionize these agents and accomplish results which have fallen very little short of the marvellous.

#### Roads

Much perhaps still remains to be learned about road construction, but road-building has everywhere been carried forward with greater zeal, making accessible the most remote corners of the earth. An illustration of this is the great highway which France has begun, extending far out into the wastes of Sahara. The great roads of France and Germany, which may be compared to the great arteries which gave life and unity to the Roman Empire, are matters of warrantable pride to the people of those countries. In the field of railroad construction,

#### Railroads

all the great transcontinental lines, with the exception of the Union Pacific in our own country (opened in 1869), have been built since 1870. Among the most important of these are the trans-Siberian, completed in 1899, and the Cape to Cairo line, which lacks but the link across Central Africa from El-Obeid in the Sudan to Elizabethville in the Belgian Congo. Besides these there are several great lines in the process of construction,

#### Improvements

such as the Bagdad railroad and the trans-Sahara. Steel has replaced wood in the construction of rolling stock; the block signal system has added materially to both safety and speed in the movement of trains; and the Pullman car has made traveling almost as comfortable as a sojourn in a luxurious drawing-room. The engines have been enlarged and improved until now we have great giants capable at one and the same time of pulling tremendous loads and of maintaining a high rate of speed. A recent invention is the electric locomotive, which promises to effect even greater changes. There has also been a marked increase in car capacity and train load, thus reducing freight charges. Government ownership, or stricter govern-

mental control, has gone hand in hand with the perfecting of railway mechanism and a better organization of railway traffic. Every country has increased its railroad mileage with each decade. The total European mileage increased from about 65,600 miles in 1870 to 195,000 miles in 1909. In 1880 there were only 584 miles of railroad in Africa; in 1909 there were 19,207 miles. The smallness of the earth and the ease with which it can now be girdled may be illustrated by a comparison of the globe trotting record of a quarter century ago with that of 1913. In 1890 Miss Nelly Bly encircled the globe in 72 days; while in 1913 Joseph Mears made the journey in less than half the time. The importance of the railroad in the European War of 1914 cannot be overestimated. To a greater degree than in any preceding struggle the fortunes of war have hinged upon the possession of adequate railway facilities.

Increase  
of Mileage

The advance in marine transportation has been no less remarkable than the growth of the railroad and the extension of roads. With the single exception of the "Great Eastern," which made her maiden trip in 1860, the largest ships of the period before 1880 were less than one half the size of the ocean Titans of today, and the rapid growth of steamship lines has amazed the sceptics who doubted the success of this method of transportation. Carlyle wrote, on the occasion of the launching of the "Great Western," which was the first steam vessel to cross the Atlantic entirely under its own steam (1838), "It was proved by calculus that steamers could never get across from the farthest point of Ireland to the nearest of Newfoundland; impelling force, resisting force, maximum here, minimum there, by law of nature, and geometric demonstration; — what could be done? The 'Great Western' could weigh anchor from Bristol Port; that could be done. The Great Western bounding safely through the gullets of the Hudson, threw her cable out on the capstan of New York, and left our still moist paper demonstration to dry itself at leisure." Of the present trans-

Ocean  
Navigation

atlantic steamship lines the oldest is the Cunard started in 1840. In the next two decades the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd began to compete with the English firm. Today there are forty or more great steamship companies throughout the world, and the ships are larger, swifter, and safer than anything dreamed of by the pioneers in this enterprise.



THE ENTRANCE TO THE SUEZ CANAL AT PORT SAID

In 1841 de Lesseps studied the isthmus and planned to interest the Khedive in the construction of this canal to connect the Mediterranean and Red Seas. The canal was begun in 1859 and completed in ten years at a cost of \$100,000,000. The stock of this undertaking is now worth about \$150,000,000, and it brings in over \$5,000,000 annual revenue. Compare with these figures the following concerning our own Panama Canal. It was begun in 1904 and completed in 1915 at a cost of about \$375,000,000. It is owned by the United States government, so there is no stock value, but the net earnings for the first ten and a half months were about \$230,000.

Ocean navigation has been greatly benefited by the opening of great ship canals. The Suez Canal, opened in 1869, connects the Mediterranean with the Red Sea and thus provides a shorter route from Europe to the Far East than the older route around the Cape of Good Hope. The Panama Canal unites the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and its advantages are obvious. The Kaiser Wilhelm or Kiel Canal, between the Baltic and North Seas (completed in 1895), is of great strategic and



#### THE EVOLUTION OF THE TELEPHONE EXCHANGE

In these two pictures of the development of the telephone, one notes not only the greater complexity and systemization of the modern exchange, but also that women have taken the place of men as operators.

commercial importance to Germany. With many other lesser water-ways they bind the world more closely together and are aiding in the extension of European civilization over the whole world.

The operation and advancement of land and sea transportation have been aided tremendously by the invention of the telephone, the telegraph, the marine telegraph or cable, and

The Telegraph

**Wireless  
Telegraphy**

especially of the wireless telegraph. While formerly the ocean held terrors for all seafarers, and the man embarking on a long voyage felt as if he were gambling with the elements, today he is almost as safe on shipboard as in his own home. All ocean liners carry wireless outfits, and if any accident peculiar to the sea happens to the ship as a result of storm, fire, icebergs, or collision with another vessel, *S. O. S.*, the wireless call for help, will bring several ships to the rescue. The telegraph on land permits a speedier and safer operation of trains, the rapid transaction of business, and a prompt coördination of governmental activities in time of national need, such as war or other disasters. The cable, or submarine telegraph line, enables the transmission of messages carried by the electric current through an insulated cable under sea and ocean. In the fall of 1915 wireless telephonic messages were transmitted from Arlington, Va., to the Pacific coast, and stray messages were picked up by operators in Hawaii. As one telephone expert says, the time may soon come when one can drop a coin in the slot of a telephone in New York City and talk with a friend on the Place de l'Opéra, Paris. Many, if not all, of these improvements have received a great impetus since 1870 from the rapidly expanding industry and commerce of the world. On the other hand, commerce and industry have in turn prompted the perfecting of these distance-defying devices of man.

**Cables****Wireless  
Telephone****Modern  
Business and  
the Desire  
for Markets**

The modern organization of business favors in a peculiar manner the spread of western ideas throughout the world. Commerce and manufacturing are now conducted on a large scale; a circumstance which has relieved industry from most of its hazard, instability, and wastefulness, and has given to it greater certainty, regularity, and economy. As the output of these great industrial enterprises has increased, there has come the demand for more markets and for a greater supply of raw materials. The older centres of civilization having failed to satisfy these demands, the nations concerned have reached out

into the hitherto unexploited continents. Commerce could not be carried on with these distant fields were it not for the perfection of banking and credit facilities, the further extension and use of which have been characteristic of the past half century. The merchant of Liverpool, for example, trades with the merchant of Capetown, in Africa, and is paid by a draft on London. Such a relation may explain in part the desire of a nation to maintain its sway in a remote corner of the world, or at least to create conditions there which will facilitate rather than handicap its expanding trade relations. A greater sensitiveness of trade has, therefore, resulted. Conditions in Europe influence and are influenced by conditions in Africa, in Asia, or in South America. For this reason it has seemed to the European powers almost a matter of self-preservation to secure or to maintain dominion over the farthest corners of the globe. Thus the rivalry for commercial supremacy between nations like Great Britain and Germany has at times threatened to change the map of distant continents.

**Banking and  
Credit Facilities**

The increase of population at home, which followed in the wake of the industrial revolution, often led to economic distress. The prospect of obtaining an easier living in the new trade colonies, coupled with the desire for change and adventure, maintained a more or less steady flow of emigration from Europe to distant lands across the seas. In some cases the mother country viewed with alarm this loss of her sturdy sons and sought some outlet for this surplus population where they might still remain under the same flag. These efforts may be illustrated by the colonial activities of Germany and Italy.

**Over-  
population  
and Emigration**

The spread of religious teaching has always accompanied colonial endeavor and in some cases actually preceded it. The Protestant and Catholic missionary movements, which had their origin back in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have had much to do with the interest of Europe in Asia and Africa in our day. The course of political events in those continents has been greatly influenced by the work of missionaries,

**Rise and  
Spread of the  
Missionary  
Movement**

who in many instances acted as explorers and as empire builders. Men like Robert Morrison, the pioneer Protestant missionary in China, have had no little influence upon the awakening of China. The name of David Livingstone, a Scotch missionary, will always be associated with the opening up of Africa. Medical missionaries also have been invaluable in the work of spreading European civilization; and education and industrial training have gone hand in hand with religious teaching.

**122. European Rivalries and the Growth of Imperialism. —**

It is only within the past half century that Europe has begun to place a high value upon colonial activity. The older ideal of nationalism, which statesmen labored for centuries to set before the people as the goal of their highest endeavor, began about 1870 to be supplanted by a larger ideal, that of imperialism. In its earliest developments this showed itself in a greater sensitiveness to injuries or insults sustained by the citizens of a country. It was soon coupled, in the case of aggressive nationalities, with the ambition to get for themselves a larger "place in the sun"; to obtain control over as much of the earth's surface as possible; and to be the creators and administrators of a great far flung empire. This incentive for acquiring colonies became the stronger as it became clearer that no considerable transfers of territory were to be expected in Europe.

A new force was now added to the various incentives which had heretofore prompted the formation of international alliances, the desire to obtain through united effort sufficient strength to hold together colonial empires in distant lands. In 1881 Italy was angered at the seizure by France of Tunis, the region of ancient Carthage and the hoped-for seat of future Italian colonial expansion. Already thousands of Italian colonists had begun the development of that portion of northern Africa. Accordingly, in 1882, Italy joined the alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary, which had been formed some years before to resist among other things Russian aggressions in the

Imperialism

The Triple  
Alliance

Balkan states. The accession of Italy transformed a Dual Alliance already existing between Germany and Austria into the Triple Alliance, which lasted until 1915 (sec. 143).

This alignment of the central European powers made necessary a new alliance to offset its influence. Signs of its coming were not lacking. In 1904 France and England came to an agreement concerning their hitherto conflicting interests in Africa. The following year, at a conference of the European powers at Algeçiras in Spain, England disclosed her intention of supporting France, if need be, against Germany. In 1907 a treaty between England and Russia rounded out a new triple league, which is called the Triple Entente — *entente* implying an understanding rather than a definite promise of aid, as does the word *alliance*. The Great European War, however, saw this Entente promptly converted into an alliance in every sense of the word. In 1914 Italy refused to join her Teutonic allies on the ground that her alliance with them demanded her aid only in event of their fighting a defensive war, whereas the present war was one of aggression, and 1915 saw the end of the Triple Alliance. Italy formally joined the Entente and invaded Austria-Hungary. Although African and Asiatic interests were perhaps not entirely responsible for these combinations of powerful states, they have had no small part in creating them and in keeping them in existence.

The Triple  
Entente

**123. The Nature and Origin of the Near Eastern Question.** — The new and awakened interest in Asia and in Africa which marks the period since 1870 was due, as has been shown, to a variety of causes. It early manifested itself in a series of successful efforts to reclaim a large part of Europe from the sway of an Asiatic people, who had long menaced its institutions and culture. These were the Turks, who had captured Constantinople in 1453 and for the following two centuries had hovered like a black cloud over southeastern Europe. The selfishness and jealousies of so-called Christian nations had had much to do with the continued presence of the Turks upon European soil,

Beginnings  
of the Ottoman  
Empire



and even in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they placed many an obstacle in the path of the solution of what came to be known as the Near Eastern Question. The European dominions of Turkey had reached their widest extent in the days of Louis XIV. With the opening of the eighteenth century, however, the Ottoman Empire began to shrink. A century ago the shrinking process began to proceed with greater rapidity, owing to the weakness of the Ottoman rulers and to the sense of nationality aroused in their European subjects by the stimulating influences of the French Revolution. In 1815, however, the Turkish empire in Europe was still a fair-sized one. It included all the present territories of Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, a part of Montenegro, and Albania.

**The Ottoman  
Empire in 1815**

These lands were inhabited by various races, but the predominant race was that of the Slavs, among whom were to be found the Serbs, Bulgars,<sup>1</sup> and Croats, cousins to the Russians and Poles. It was therefore natural for the Russian government to sympathize with the Serbs and other kindred folk in their desire for independence from the Moslem yoke. It also accorded with the traditional aim of the Tsars to get control of Constantinople, the original seat of authority of the head of the Greek Church, and to reestablish the Byzantine Empire under Russian control. Russian agents everywhere in the Sultan's dominions were early at work, urging their fellow Slavs to revolt from Turkish rule and to enter upon a movement to unite all the Slavs under one leadership. This movement in its later phases has been called *Panslavism*.

**The Race  
Problem**

**Panslavism**

**England's  
Interests in the  
Near East**

Although England was not the territorial neighbor of Turkey, her vast commercial interests made the Balkan or Near Eastern question one of supreme interest. As early as the reign of Elizabeth, the Company of Merchants of the Levant had begun to develop trade with the possessions of the Sultan in the *Ægean*

<sup>1</sup> Although Mongolian in origin, the admixture of Slavs and the fact that they have been subjected to Slavonic influences seem to justify their classification as a Slav people.

Sea and in Asia Minor. The settlement of the Near Eastern Question would materially affect these existing trade relations. When England secured a foothold in India there were additional reasons for her interest in the Near East because of the trade routes which passed through the Turkish dominions. The Sultan of Turkey was also Caliph or religious head of all Mohammedans throughout the world, and a large part of the population of India had accepted the dogma that there was but one God and Mohammed was his Prophet. Austria, besides being herself an empire with a large Slavic element, had borne the brunt of the attack of the invading Turks since the fifteenth century and, now that the tide was receding, hoped to gain new territories; yet she was fearful of Russia's power to arouse the Slavs of her own dominions against her. France had been the traditional ally of Turkey since the day when by attacking Vienna, the Sultan had aided France in her war with Austria. France also regarded herself as the protector of the Roman Catholic subjects of the Sultan, just as Russia was the defender of Greek Catholicism. With such a conflict of interests between the great powers of Europe, no one nation could attempt to solve the riddle of the Turk without fear of what the other nations might do.

Austria's  
Interests

France's  
Interests

Very little headway was made in the solution of the Near Eastern question down to the close of the Franco-German War. Whatever results were attained in the recovery of part of Christian Europe from the sway of the Infidel centre about the Greek War for Independence, the career of Mehemet Ali in Egypt, and the Crimean War. A beginning had thus been made in the solution of the Near Eastern problem.

**124. The War for Greek Independence.**—While Napoleon was riding to his fall in 1814, a secret organization, known as the "Friendly Society," was being organized by Greek patriots. This society had as its aim the liberation of the Greeks from Turkish rule. Under the leadership of Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, a member of the family of Greek governors placed over

Ypsilanti

the Roumanians by the Turkish government, the standard of revolt was raised in the Danubian provinces by a small army of young Greeks. Although this revolution speedily failed, the idea of revolution was not so easily banished from the minds of the Greek patriots. In the spring of 1821 a universal uprising was launched against the Turkish garrisons, and by summer the whole country south of the Malian and Ambracian gulfs, except the stronger fortresses, was in the hands of the patriots. The work of organizing a provisional government went on slowly, but by the following spring a constitution had been adopted; Corinth had been chosen as the capital of the new state; and the blue and white flag had been raised over its citadel. A Turkish invasion was checked by the generals of the young republic. By 1823, however, so much friction had arisen between the various factions that it was evident that the Greeks would not endure the rule of one of their own countrymen. It was at this time that the great English poet Byron came to Greece to share in the work of liberation. Civil war arose between the factions, and in 1825 the Sultan summoned his vassal Mehemet Ali, the pasha or governor of Egypt, to help suppress the revolution. With the coming of Mehemet's son Ibrahim to the Morea, the district formerly known as the Peloponnesus, the second stage of the War for Independence began. The Turkish-Egyptian armies were uniformly successful, even the Acropolis of Athens falling again into Ottoman hands. In despair the Greeks looked to the great powers for support and elected as president Count Capo d'Istria, a Greek statesman who had long been in the service of the Tsar. In July, 1827, Great Britain, Russia, and France signed in London a treaty, pledging immediate intervention on behalf of the Greeks. This was a direct blow at the aims and purposes of the Holy Alliance and was contrary to the wishes of Prince Metternich. The effects of this step were soon apparent. The Turkish and Egyptian fleets were nearly annihilated at the battle of Navarino; a French army drove the Turks out of the Morea; and in the north the Turks were defeated in

Revolution  
of 1821

The Greek  
Republic

Byron

Mehemet Ali

Foreign  
Intervention

Navarino

Boeotia and forced to withdraw. The War for Independence was ended. Capo d'Istria now attempted to rule Greece with a firm hand in order to prevent a repetition of the civil strife, but was assassinated because of his severity in handling the situation. The powers then proposed Prince Otho of Bavaria as king of Greece, and in 1833 he began his reign.

**Establishment  
of the Kingdom  
of Greece**



A GLIMPSE OF TWO CONTINENTS

In this view, showing a part of the city of Constantinople, one sees both Europe and Asia and the narrow waters of the Bosphorus.

**125. The Struggle between Turkey and Egypt.** — Mehemet Ali of Egypt, to whom reference has already been made, was more interested in constructive reforms in his own country than in the reconquest of the Greeks. One of the ablest men of his day, he wished to extend the reforms which he had made in Egypt over all the Ottoman dominions. He sought to restore to the empire of the Turks some of its former prestige and power. When his efforts to carry out his plans were thwarted at Constantinople by jealous rivals, he began a war on his sovereign. In this war he had the moral support of France, for it was with

**Policy of  
Mehemet Ali**

**Interference  
of Russia**

French assistance that most of his reforms had been introduced into Egypt. His successful armies swept over Asia Minor and even threatened Constantinople. This success did not accord with the plans of Europe for Turkey and when the Sultan appealed to Russia, a Russian army was landed to oppose Mehemet, who, however, compelled the Sultan to recognize him as ruler of Syria and adjacent territories as well as of Egypt. As the price of Russian aid, Turkey agreed to close the Dardanelles to the warships of all nations, thus placing in the hands of Russia peculiar opportunities for intervention in Turkish affairs. Six years later the Sultan reopened the war against Mehemet, but was again defeated. England, Austria, and Prussia intervened on behalf of the Sultan, attacked Mehemet Ali in Syria, and compelled him to submit. His Asiatic possessions were taken from him, but Egypt was given back as a hereditary province under nominal Turkish suzerainty.<sup>1</sup> The allies entered into a treaty guaranteeing the integrity of the Turkish Empire, thus postponing the day when the fate of the Turkish Empire would be finally determined.

**Humbling of  
Mehemet Ali****Causes**

**126. Russia and the Crimean War.**<sup>2</sup>—Russia evidently looked upon this treaty as merely “a scrap of paper,” for within the next ten years the Tsar Nicholas I proposed to England the division of the Ottoman Empire. England was to receive Egypt and Crete, while he was to have most of Turkey in Europe, including Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> Upon the refusal of England to be a party to the plan, he sought another excuse for an attack on Turkey, namely, his championship of the Greek Catholics. Just at this time a quarrel had broken out between the Greek and Roman Catholics at the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Each demanded exclusive rights in performing religious services there

<sup>1</sup> This suzerainty was ended in 1914 when Egypt became formally a British Protectorate (see page 321). <sup>2</sup> See sec. 112.

<sup>3</sup> The Tsar remarked at this time to the British ambassador, referring to the condition of Turkey: “We have on our hands a sick man — a very sick man; it will be a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us, *especially before all necessary arrangements were made.*”

and appealed to the Turkish government. On historic grounds, dating as far back as the Crusades, the Roman Catholic religious orders had the weight of the argument in their favor. The Turkish government, however, in its anxiety not to offend either Napoleon III or Nicholas I, who stood behind the two churches, interpreted these rights in a different way to each of the states concerned. The negotiations were so handled by the British representative at Constantinople that the Tsar finally sent an ultimatum to the Turkish government, demanding a Russian protectorate over the entire Greek Catholic Church. This was in effect a demand for as great a power over the internal affairs of the Turkish Empire as had ever been claimed by a Gregory VII or Innocent III in mediaeval Europe, and neither Turkey nor the powers of Western Europe, whose protégée she had become, were willing to grant the demand. The Emperor Napoleon III of France, moreover, had a personal grievance against Russia in that the Tsar had not accorded full recognition to his assumption of the imperial title besides being the recognized protector of Roman Catholic interests in Palestine.

The Tsar did not expect European intervention, however, and began a "crusade" against Turkey. Diplomatic notes were exchanged between the great powers of Europe, all to no avail, and in the year 1854 Russia found herself confronted by an allied army of Turkey, Great Britain, France, and Sardinia. The allies invaded the Crimean Peninsula, in southern Russia, thus giving the war its name, and compelled the recall of the Russian troops from the Turkish frontier for the defence of Russia. During the conflict the warlike Nicholas I died and was succeeded by the more liberal Alexander II (sec. 146). The Peace of Paris in 1856 took from Russia the protectorate over the Danubian principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia, which were afterwards united to form the principality of Roumania under Turkish suzerainty. Russia furthermore lost her right to keep a fleet on the Black Sea. This war had several important

The Peace  
of Paris and  
the Near East-  
ern Question

results. It placed the buffer state of Roumania between Russia and Turkey; it won added recognition to the plea for independence made by the subject peoples of the Balkan peninsula; and besides proved an important factor in the movement for the liberation of Italy (sec. 113).

**127. The Russo-Turkish War and the Congress of Berlin.** — The next great upheaval in the Near East came with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. All the preceding developments were insignificant in comparison with the consequences which followed in its train. The Tsar Alexander II did not relinquish the hope of his ancestors of gaining land at the expense of Turkey. During the Franco-German War he took advantage of the preoccupation of Western Europe by reasserting Russia's right to maintain warships on the Black Sea. Soon after this event came the longed-for opportunity of reopening the Eastern Question. The cruelties practised upon the Christians of the lower Danubian valley by the Turks, with the intent of terrorizing them into submission, excited the horror of Europe, especially of Great Britain. Judging that the western powers would not repeat the Crimean War on behalf of a government which was outraging every humane principle, Russia declared war and invaded Turkey. The Roumanian prince, who chafed at the nominal suzerainty which Turkey exercised over his lands, threw in his lot with Russia; the fiery Slavs of Serbia and Montenegro also arose in rebellion; and Greece was ready to enter the contest in order to share in the spoils. For a time it seemed as if the death-knell of Turkey in Europe had been sounded, but the fear that the Russians might create a great vassal Balkan state was again raising up defenders for Turkey. While this tide of opposition to Russian hopes was rising, a treaty was signed between Russia and Turkey at San Stefano which was wholly favorable to the former. (See map, page 313.)

The Tsar had the cup to his lips, but the powers dashed it to earth by calling a general European Congress at Berlin for the summer of 1878. This was one of the most important steps

The  
Macedonian  
Outrages

Participation  
of the  
Balkan States

Treaty of  
San Stefano

The Congress  
of Berlin



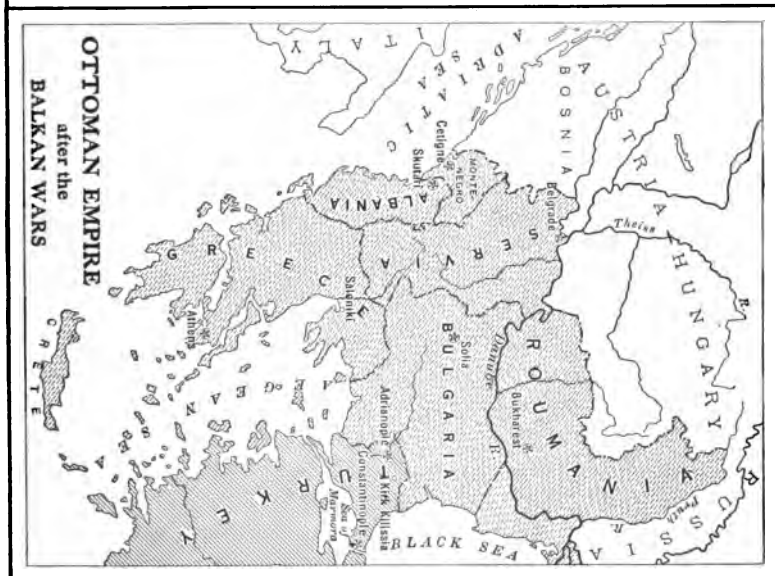
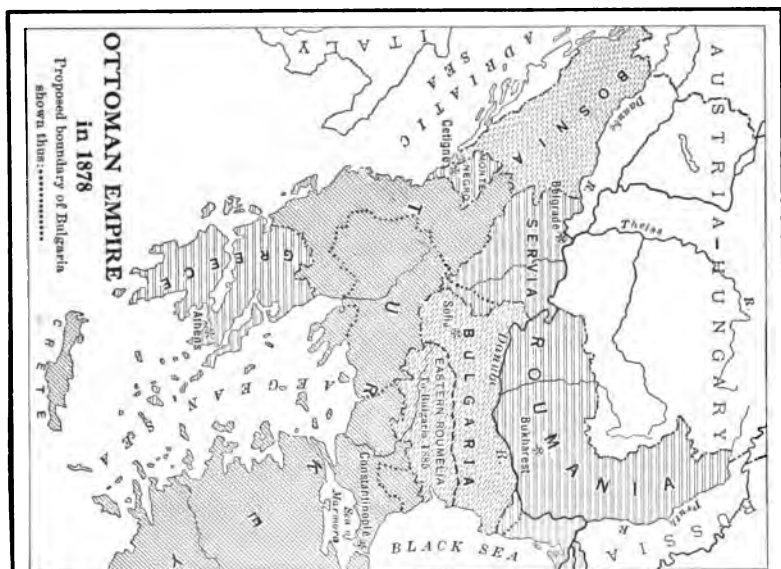
THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

This picture by Anton von Werner contains nearly thirty portraits of men, almost all of whom were then conspicuous in European politics. At the extreme left we see Gortschakoff seated, with Waddington at his side, and Disraeli leaning on his cane. In the centre, Prince Bismarck grasps the hand of General Schuvaloff, while Count Andrássy at his elbow waits his turn to salute the Russian commander. At the extreme right is Mehemet Ali Pasha, while Lord Salisbury listens to the conversation between Lord Russell and two of the Egyptian diplomats.



taken towards the solution of the Near Eastern Question in modern times. All the great powers were represented by their chief statesmen, prime ministers, foreign secretaries, and ambassadors. Bismarck was chosen as President of the Congress. None of the small states most interested in the decisions of the conference were permitted to share in these decisions. In many respects it was as reactionary as the Congress of Vienna, and at its doors, in no small measure, may be laid the responsibility for the European War of 1914. The great Turkish vassal state of Bulgaria, created by the Treaty of San Stefano, was cut to pieces. Bulgaria, which it was feared would be a satellite of Russia, was divided into two parts: that to the south to be known for a few years as Eastern Roumelia and to be under Turkish control; and another to the north, the Principality of Bulgaria, which was also to be dependent upon Turkey. Macedonia was restored to Turkey; Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro were made independent states. Bosnia and Herzegovina were turned over to the administration of Austria, although nominally under Turkish control until 1908. Roumania was robbed of a northern province by Russia, and Bulgaria was shorn of her northeastern territory to compensate Roumania.

**128. The Emergence of the Balkan States, 1878-1908.** — For the next thirty years the history of the Balkan region is comparatively uninteresting. It is marked by the gradual consolidation of the separate states and the gradual disappearance of Turkish control in many cases where the great powers had still bolstered up its shadowy dominion. The Congress of Berlin left the organization of the new government of Bulgaria to the Russians. They promptly produced a constitution which was apparently very democratic, but the ruler had as strong a check over the people as the people had over the ruler. Russia intended to retain control over the government. The framer of this constitution had not reckoned on one possibility which came to pass — namely, coöperation between people and ruler.



Prince Alexander of Battenberg, a nephew of the Tsar, was chosen ruler of Bulgaria and, six years later, of Eastern Roumelia as well. Russia tried vainly to prevent him from assuming control of the latter, but the sympathy of England was for Alexander, and Russia acquiesced. Russian interference in Bulgaria was responsible in part for the abdication of Alexander in 1886, and in the following year Ferdinand, grandson of Louis Philippe, accepted the throne. Stephen Stambuloff, an innkeeper's son who had risen to the position of prime minister, was the real ruler of the country until his dismissal in 1894. He was anti-Russian in his sympathies and was supported in this attitude by the people. His overthrow resulted in a closer union for the time being between the governments of Bulgaria and Russia, but Ferdinand's ambition to become the dominant Balkan ruler led him to continue the anti-Russian movement.

**Stambuloff**

**Serbia**

Prince Milan of Serbia, who had assumed the title of king in 1882, felt the need of aggressive measures to make his dynasty popular. Accordingly he showed a resentment at the absorption of Roumelia by Alexander's principality, and in 1885 a short war followed between Serbia and Bulgaria, in which Serbia was defeated. Austria intervened and prevented Bulgaria from making any territorial gains, but the war gave her great prestige and insured to her the possession of Roumelia.

**Roumania**

Roumania was proclaimed a kingdom in 1881. Her government is a constitutional monarchy. While her principal industry is agriculture, she has in recent years developed manufacturing and commerce to a higher point than that reached by any of the other Balkan states.

**Greece**

Otho ruled the Greeks for nearly thirty years (1833-62). The capital was transferred to Athens, the ancient wonder city of Hellas, and the little kingdom began a slow national development. Her boundaries were very unsatisfactory, as Thessaly with its Greek population was retained by Turkey. There were many internal troubles, legacies of the unsettled conditions under Turkish rule, brigandage had to be suppressed, and the country

was heavily in debt. At first the government was an absolute monarchy. In 1844 Otho granted the demand for a parliament, but the people were dissatisfied with his weak foreign policy as well as with his absolute tendencies, and in 1862 drove him from the throne. George I, a son of Christian IX of Denmark, succeeded him. England ceded the Ionian Isles to Greece the following year (1864) and forced the Sultan in 1881 to cede Thessaly. In 1897 an insurrection in Crete against Turkish rule gave Greece a pretext for war, but as she was poorly prepared and failed to get aid from the other Balkan states, she was defeated. Crete, however, was temporarily given home rule under the governorship of Prince George of Greece, although nominally under Turkish rule and finally was annexed to Greece in 1913.

### 129. The Turkish Revolution and its Consequences.

— In the summer of 1908 the Eastern Question reached a most acute stage. The Young Turks, a secret liberal party of progressive Turks who desired to inject new life into the Ottoman Empire and thought to attain this by moulding their government upon constitutional lines like those of the great powers of Western Europe, conducted a swift and bloodless revolution in Constantinople. Having won over the army chiefs to their plans, they demanded from the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II, the restoration of a constitution which had been granted in the crisis of 1876 but had never been put in operation. Emperor Francis



TSAR FERDINAND OF BULGARIA

He threw in the lot of his country with the Teutonic allies in the European War of 1914. He is a grandson of Louis Philippe and is immensely wealthy. He is also one of the shrewdest statesmen of the present time.

The Graeco-Turkish War,  
1897

Crete

The Young  
Turks

**Annexation  
of Bosnia and  
Herzegovina  
by Austria-  
Hungary**

**Independence  
of Bulgaria**

**The Turkish  
Revolution  
Completed**

**The Turco-  
Italian and  
Balkan Wars**

Joseph announced the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the empire of Austria-Hungary, a step which eventually had much to do with precipitating the European War of 1914, and almost at the same time Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria proclaimed the independence of Bulgaria from Turkish rule and took the title of Tsar. The people of Crete announced their union with Greece, and for a time it looked dangerously like a general European war. Germany and Austria-Hungary adopted a warlike attitude as they justified these breaches of the Treaty of Berlin. To add to the confusion, in April, 1909, the Turkish army broke into mutiny against the Young Turk movement, and several leaders lost their lives. But the Young Turks rallied, took Constantinople, deposed Abdul Hamid, and placed his brother Mohammed V on the throne. The new Sultan proved to be a puppet in the hands of the reforming party, which was exactly what they desired. The new government found its task a difficult one. It was one thing to set up a government and another thing to make this government satisfactory to all portions of the empire.

Scarcely had several revolts been suppressed when Turkey was forced to confront a foreign enemy. A desire for conquest had seized hold of Italy, and her eyes were turned to the Turkish possession of Tripoli. War broke out in 1911. Turkey was no match for Italy, and Tripoli became the Italian province of Libya. Before the treaty was signed ending the Libyan War, Turkey had entered upon a life and death struggle. The Balkan states had, strangely enough, succeeded in patching up their differences and had organized a league composed of Serbia, Greece, Montenegro, and Bulgaria. They now launched themselves upon the Turkish territories in Europe. The armies speedily crushed the Turkish defences and, when the powers intervened to prevent the capture of Constantinople, all that remained to Turkey was the Gallipoli peninsula and the narrow strip of land which stretches along the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus. The victors, however, quarrelled over the spoils,

and Serbia and Greece combined against Bulgaria, and in a brief campaign known as the Second Balkan War forced the latter to give them the lion's share of the territory gained from Turkey. This second war was to the advantage of Turkey, for Bulgaria was forced to leave in Turkish hands the important city of Adrianople, which she had won after a long and difficult siege in the first war. Turkey in Europe was, therefore, saved from complete annihilation, although reduced to a mere shadow of her former glory. Serbia and Greece were the chief gainers, but Bulgaria and Montenegro each gained territory. Because of the interference of the powers, a new state, called Albania, was created out of the territory on the western coast and placed under the rule of a German prince. He was soon forced to flee, however, and the fate of the new principality still hangs in the balance.<sup>1</sup>

War between  
the Balkan  
Allies

Albania

The Near Eastern Question has not yet been solved. The European War of 1914 has opened up new possibilities. The alliance of Turkey and Bulgaria with the central powers, the drive through Serbia in the autumn of 1915, the participation of Roumania, in 1916, and the military operations about the Persian Gulf and the Suez Canal, will all play their part in creating a new situation in the Near East.

The Near  
Eastern  
Question and  
the European  
War of 1914

**130. The Opening Up of Africa by the Missionaries and Explorers.** — It has already been pointed out how the problems presented by the Near East involved from time to time the neighboring continent of Africa. While these events were transpiring in Asia Minor and in the Balkan region this vast domain was being apportioned among the powers of Western Europe. This partitioning process followed close upon the heels of the activities of the missionaries and explorers. Previous to the middle of the nineteenth century Africa was all but unknown and was rightfully named the "dark continent." Except for the work of France in Algeria between

The "Dark  
Continent "

<sup>1</sup> For territorial arrangement of the Balkan States, see map opposite p. 398.

### 318 ESSENTIALS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

1830 and 1847 and the growth of British dominion in the Cape Colony, near the struggling young Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the nations of Europe had shown but little interest in the development of Africa. To about the middle of the nineteenth century such efforts as had been put forth towards ascertaining the nature of the country and its resources had been confined to northern and northwestern Africa. The heart of the dark continent was laid open principally through the work of David Livingstone. Between 1840 and 1856 this prince of explorers opened up the region of the Zambesi and crossed Africa from ocean to ocean. His work as an explorer and missionary attracted the attention of Europe. On one of his expeditions the world was without news of him for so long that a searching party was sent out by the *New York Herald* under the leadership of Henry M. Stanley, a newspaper correspondent born in Wales. Livingstone died in 1873 in the very heart of the Dark Continent and his body was taken home to England and buried in Britain's Hall of Fame, Westminster Abbey. Stanley returned to Africa to explore the Congo, and his journeys through "Darkest Africa" did much to change the map of the interior of the continent from blank spaces to rivers, lakes, and mountains. Meanwhile, a renewed interest in the sources of the Nile had led Speke, an English explorer, in 1858, to the discovery of the great lake just at the equator, which he named Victoria Nyanza, in honor of England's queen. A few years later another Englishman named Baker discovered another source in a second lake, which he named Albert Nyanza in honor of the Prince Consort.

David  
Livingstone

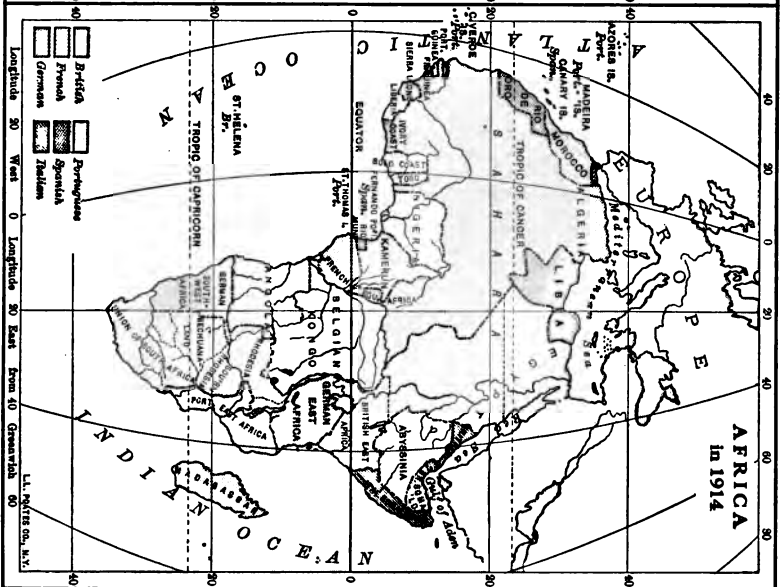
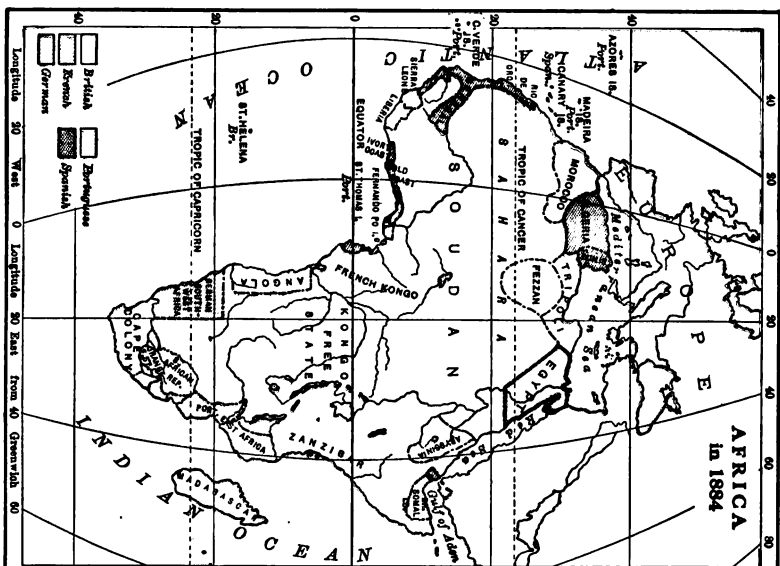
Henry M.  
Stanley

Speke

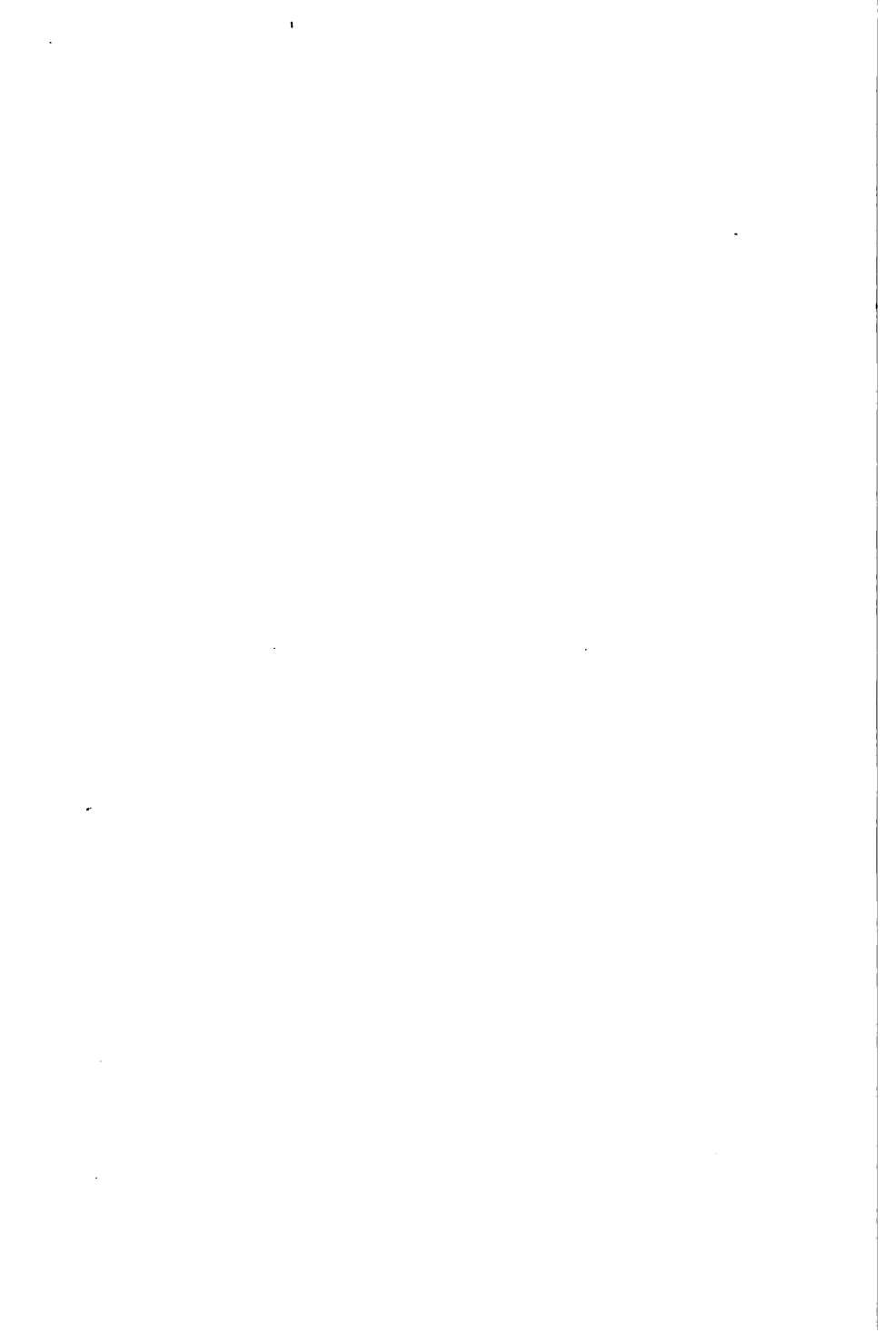
Baker

Remnants of  
Older Colonial  
Empires  
in Africa

When the advance of Europe into Africa began, there were still some remnants of the colonial empires of the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch. These lay along the Eastern and Western coasts and in South Africa. But the two most energetic powers up to 1873 were France and England. France began her protectorate over Tunis in 1881, and England her "occupation" of







Egypt the following year. A wild rush for territory followed. Between 1884 and 1890 Germany, Italy, and Belgium joined with the powers already possessing a foothold in a series of treaties setting forth their respective claims.

One of the earliest and most interesting appropriations of territory during this period was the creation of the Congo Free State. Livingstone had directed the attention of Europe to the horrors of the slave trade, as carried on by the Arabs in the region of the Congo and the Zambesi, and through his explorations had aroused an interest particularly in Equatorial Africa. It was his explorations rather than his campaign for humanity that attracted the attention, among others, of Leopold II, King of the Belgians, through whose efforts an International Association was formed for the ostensible object of the exploration and civilization of central Africa (1876), and Stanley was given an opportunity to prove his ability as a pro-consul in the Congo region. The International Association, however, fell largely under the influence of Leopold, and the activities of Belgium in the Congo prompted other nations to make claims in this region. Accordingly a conference of the great powers of Europe and the United States was held in Berlin in 1884. This marked an epoch in Europe's relations with the Dark Continent, as it was followed by other conferences and treaties which sought to delimit clearly each country's interest upon African soil. This particular conference established the Congo Free State, an independent state, occupying most of that river's basin, and it was ordered that all nations should have equal opportunities of trade within it. Leopold now unmasked himself, and it became evident that he had engineered the whole deal for his own personal profit. He allowed his agents to commit unspeakable cruelties against the natives in order to terrify them into bringing in great quantities of rubber and other African products for his own enrichment. In 1885 he notified the powers that he had assumed the sovereignty of the Congo State. Its union with Belgium was merely a personal one, both being under the same

**The Formation  
of the Congo  
Free State**

**The  
International  
Association**

**Conference of  
Berlin**

**The Congo  
Free State**

**The Congo  
Atrocities**

sovereign. His autocratic rule and intolerable cruelties were so criticised by all the other nations that in 1908 the Belgian government converted the Congo Free State into a Belgian colony, subject to the rule of the parliament.

**131. England and France in Egypt.** — Meanwhile England and France were extending their control over Egypt. The fifth ruler of Egypt in the family of Mehemet Ali was an extravagant man by the name of Ismail. During his reign the Suez Canal was constructed. This was only one of his many enterprises, some of which were of the most spendthrift character. So lavish was he in his expenditures that the public debt of Egypt rose from \$15,000,000 to nearly \$450,000,000 within a little over a decade. In 1875 Great Britain acquired for a comparatively small sum the Khedive's<sup>1</sup> shares in the Suez Canal Company, owing to his financial needs. Both France and England continued to make loans to the Egyptian government until they felt forced to institute a dual control over Egypt to safeguard these interests.

Ismail resented this interference with his country, but was forced to abdicate in 1879 in favor of his son Tewfik, who proved more compliant with the wishes of Great Britain. But a spirit of "Egypt for the Egyptians" seized possession of the Khedive's army. Under the leadership of Arabi Pasha, a revolt spread against foreign control, which soon got beyond the power of Tewfik to suppress. In order to preserve the financial interests of Europeans in Egypt, military intervention was necessary. At this juncture France refused to coöperate and England undertook the task alone. This act terminated France's active connection with Egypt. In a few months the revolt was suppressed and Arabi was exiled to Ceylon (1882). England now assumed the rôle of "adviser" to the Khedive, but quickly let him understand that this meant that she was his guardian as well.

This relationship brought with it a serious responsibility. There had arisen in the Sudan, a province long misruled by

Withdrawal  
of France

The Loss and  
Recovery of  
the Sudan

<sup>1</sup> The official title of the ruler of Egypt.

Egypt, a revolt half religious and half political. A leader called the Mahdi proclaimed a religious war against all foreigners as well as against the Egyptian government. General Gordon, who had shown great ability in dealing with half-civilized peoples in China, and as governor-general of the Sudan from 1872 to 1880, was sent by the British government to deal with the Mahdi, and was reappointed governor-general of the Sudan by the Khedive. He reached Khartum and was there besieged by the Mahdist forces. An expedition was sent out by the British government to rescue him, but it reached Khartum when it was too late, as the city had fallen into the hands of the Mahdi two days before, and Gordon had met his death in defending it against them. For ten years England abandoned the Sudan until 1896, when General Kitchener, as commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, undertook to recover the province. Building a railroad as he marched southward in a slow but sure campaign, he completely subdued the dervishes, as the followers of the Mahdi were called, winning a decisive victory at Omdurman (1898). For this he received his title, Kitchener of Khartum. The Sudan was held as a joint Egyptian and British province. Since 1883 England, through her representatives, particularly Lord Cromer, has done much to build up Egypt and to improve the condition of the lower classes, especially the downtrodden fellaheen, as the peasants are called. When Turkey joined the side of the Teutonic nations in the European War of 1914, Great Britain deposed the reigning Khedive on the ground that he was too friendly with the Ottoman Empire and installed a relative of the deposed ruler as Sultan under a British protectorate.

The Mahdi;  
"Chinese  
Gordon"

Kitchener  
of Khartum

Lord Cromer

**132. France, Germany, and Italy in Africa.**—France lost one colonial empire in the eighteenth century as a result of the Seven Years' War. This did not discourage her statesmen from attempting to conquer another. The reign of Louis Philippe saw the conquest of Algeria, one of the Barbary States, and at the opening of the century nominally a part of the Turkish Empire.

The Extension  
of French  
Power  
in Africa

Algeria

**Tunis**

Since the Franco-German War these efforts have been more pronounced. With a secure foothold in North Africa, she has endeavored to extend her territories to the east, west, and south. Although Tunis was desired by Italy, the influence of France was the stronger, and in 1881 a treaty with the ruler of that state

**ALGIERS**

Algiers, the capital of the French province in Africa of the same name, rises from the seashore up the sides of a precipitous hill in the form of an equilateral triangle. The streets are regular, spacious, and elegant, quite Parisian in appearance. The harbor is strongly fortified and can contain forty warships and three hundred trading vessels. It is the most important seaport on that part of the Mediterranean coast.

**Morocco**

brought it under French rule. The palmy days of the Roman empire seem to have come again to these portions of North Africa. Railroads have been promoted, harbors built, agriculture encouraged, cities Europeanized, and everywhere evidences of prosperity and progress are apparent. Since 1904 France and Spain have divided Morocco, that portion lying opposite to Spain belonging to her sphere of influence. The

island of Madagascar off the eastern coast of Africa in the Indian Ocean, the fifth largest island in the world, was conquered by the French and annexed in 1896. This island, to which they had long laid claim, is larger in area than France herself and is rich in minerals and in tropical products. In western Africa France has large areas under her rule. Most of this territory has been secured since 1878 (see map opposite page 318). Senegal, part of the Guinea Coast, Dahomey, the Ivory coast, the Upper Niger Valley, and a region north of the Congo are subject to her. Through her control of the Saharan oases, which were secured by a series of conflicts with the natives, she has established her sovereignty in a region eight times the size of France. If she completes the projected trans-Saharan railroad, she will possess a key to the commerce of central Africa. By the occupation of Djibouti near the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, France maintains an entrance to the Red Sea and safeguards her route to Madagascar and Indo-China.

**Madagascar**

Two new members of the European family soon became actively interested in the fate of African territory. Italy was the first upon the scene. We have already noted how she conquered Libya from Turkey in 1912. Thirty years before this date she began operations upon the shores of the Red Sea and seized important ports. This caused hostile relations with the native state of Abyssinia, resulting in 1896 in the overwhelming defeat of a small Italian army. Italy has since confined her efforts in that part of Africa to building up her colony of Eritrea on the Red Sea and to establishing a protectorate over a part of eastern Africa called Somaliland. With many misgivings and much hesitation, Germany began her career as a ruler in Africa in 1884. By means of treaties with negro chiefs, and by forcible annexations with the consent of other European powers, Germany has acquired Togoland, Kamerun, and Southwest Africa on the west, and German East Africa on the east coast. These territories are rich in mineral wealth and

**Italy and Germany in Africa**

commercial possibilities. No story of the last quarter century of the history of Africa would be complete without mention of the work of individual Germans as geographical explorers and scientists.

**133. The Extension of English Influence in South Africa. —**

England's empire in South Africa began with the seizure of Dutch possessions at the Cape of Good Hope during the Napo-

leonic Wars. At the Peace of Vienna her title to the colony was confirmed, and Englishmen straightway began to emigrate thither. The new forms of government introduced by the English, the use of English as the sole legal language, and finally the abolition of slavery in 1833, all combined to irritate the Boers, the name given to the descendants of the original Dutch settlers. In 1836 they began to emigrate to the north, to Natal, the Orange River country, and the Transvaal or South African Republic.

With the appearance of Cecil Rhodes, an Englishman who had amassed an enormous fortune in the gold and diamond

mines of South Africa, England began to extend her power. He was one of Great Britain's empire builders. He not only took steps to acquire new territory north of the Zambesi River but projected a transcontinental railroad from Capetown to Cairo to unite the British possessions in northern and southern Africa. He was successful in adding Rhodesia, but found his path northwards blocked by German acquisitions. His aim

**Beginnings  
of English  
Influence**



CECIL RHODES

Cecil John Rhodes was Prime Minister of Cape Colony 1890-94. He died in 1902 and left the bulk of his vast wealth for the purpose of educating at Oxford University young men of ability from every important British colony and from every state of the United States.

**The Boers**

**Cecil Rhodes**

seems to have been to weld all these South African territories into a single state, including the Transvaal.

Gold was discovered in the mountains of the Transvaal in 1886, and with this began a great influx of foreigners, especially of Englishmen. The Boers did not want these "Uitlanders," or foreigners, and began a systematic policy of discrimination against them. The Transvaal government required them to pay heavy taxes and oppressed them in other ways. In 1895, under the leadership of Dr. Jameson, the governor of Rhodesia, a raid was made by the Uitlanders with the avowed intention of overthrowing the Boer government. The revolt was suppressed and the guilty men turned over to England for punishment. The fact that they received trivial sentences and that Cecil Rhodes, the arch-conspirator against the Boers, was shielded by the English government, increased the irritation felt by the Boers. Finally Great Britain demanded nothing short of the right of citizenship for the Uitlanders. To this the Transvaal government would not accede, and war began in 1899. After three years of bitter warfare, Great Britain annexed the Boer republics.

**The Boer War**

**Jameson's  
Raid**

**Annexation  
of the  
Boer Republic**

The work of reconstruction began immediately, and the British government adopted a singularly enlightened policy in regard to the Boers. In 1909 a new Dominion of the British Empire was created, known as the South African Union, consisting of the four colonies of Natal, Cape of Good Hope, Transvaal, and Orange Free State. The parliament consists of a Senate of 40 members and an Assembly of 130 members. The Governor-General is appointed by the crown. The British cabinet system is followed. Both Dutch and English are the official languages, and the high officers of the government are selected from the leaders of both peoples. North of this dominion stretches the territory of Rhodesia, which will ultimately form a part of the South African Union.

**South African  
Union**

For Suggestive Topics and Questions for Further Study, Collateral Reading, Source Studies, Suggestions for Map Work, Map References, and Bibliography, see close of Chapter XI, page 353.



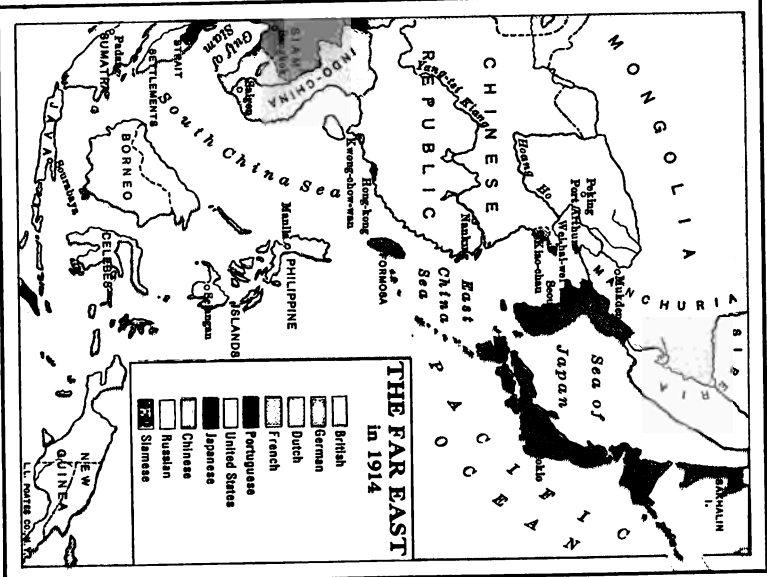
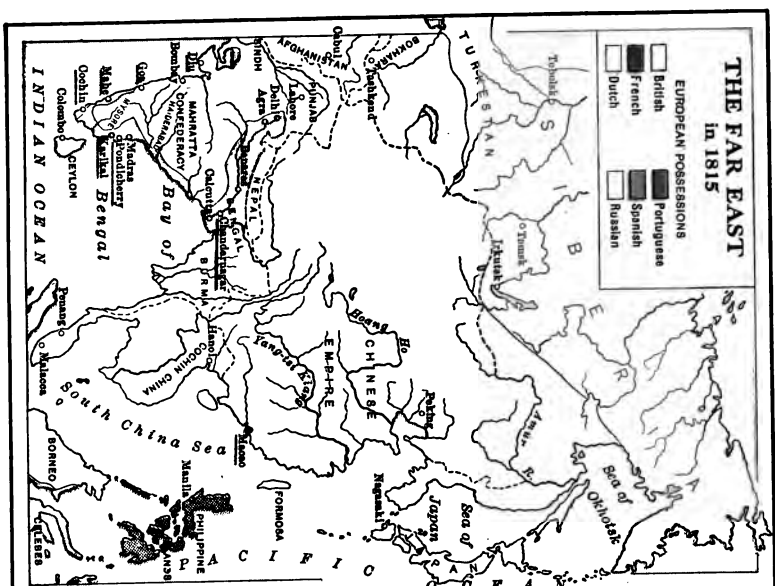
## CHAPTER. XI

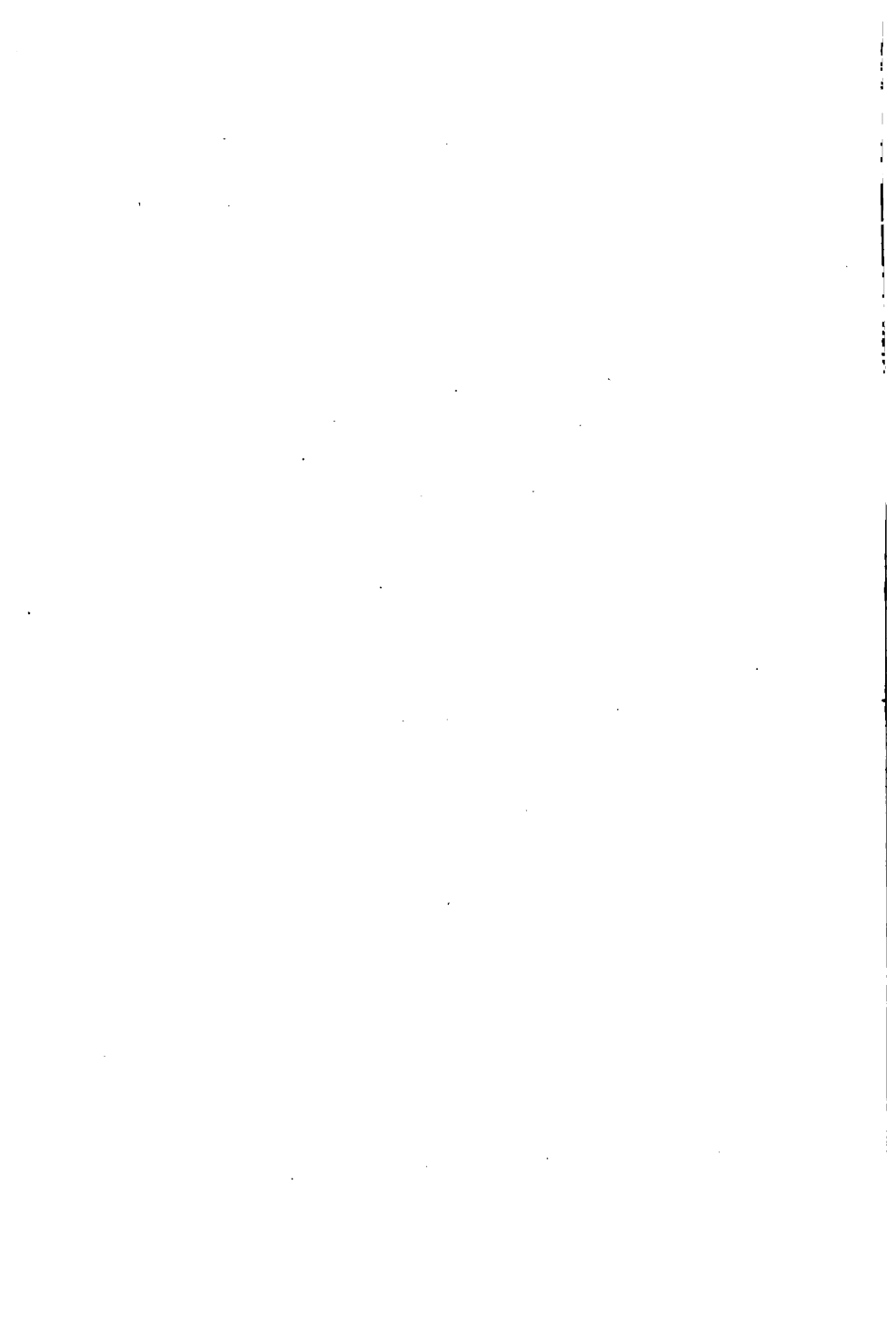
### THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE IN ASIA AND AFRICA (Continued)

#### THE FAR EAST AND THE EUROPEAN WAR OF 1914

**134. Origin of the Far Eastern Question.** — The century-long contact between Asia and Europe, occasioned by the presence of the Turk in southeastern Europe, gave rise to the Near Eastern problem, which has taxed the patience and energies of some of Europe's greatest statesmen and is still far from solution. Turkey in Asia, however, was but a mere outpost of a vast land mass, peopled with teeming millions of Orientals. It was not a continent shrouded in mystery and in darkness as was Africa, as one after the other the great trading nations of Europe — the Portuguese, Dutch, and English — had come in contact with its peoples and had brought back to Europe, with their rich jewels, spices and silks, some knowledge of the strange countries themselves and their civilizations. Nevertheless, with the exception of the English occupation of India, down to the middle of the nineteenth century, the influence of the West upon the Far East had been almost negligible. The great empire of China with its three hundred millions of inhabitants, the great "Middle Kingdom" as it was called by its people, occupying with its dependencies an area larger than that of Europe, was practically closed to European enterprise and promised to remain so indefinitely. The same was true of Japan, her next-door neighbor on the East. Korea, lying between the two, was long known as the Hermit Nation.

Exclusive  
Policy of the  
East





The same influences, however, which opened Africa transformed these portions of Asia. As a result Europe now has a Far Eastern question to solve — a situation closely related to that in the Near East and in some of its characteristics merely a part of the same great problem. Of all the European nations, Russia is probably most responsible for this awakening of interest in the Far East, although our own country and Japan have figured prominently in the movement.

The Expansion  
of Russia  
Eastward

The course of Russian history since the 13th century has been marked by steady and persistent additions of territory. Conquest, says a Chinese proverb, is like water. That which proceeds by flood overturns, passes, and disappears; that which progresses little by little filters in; it is slow and permanent; it penetrates and remains master. The latter is the character of the conquests of the Russians. Sometimes they seem to stop; but it is only to take breath; no obstacle prevents them from advancing. It was the Russian occupation of Siberia, which was practically completed by the founding of the port of Okhotsk on the Pacific in 1638, that eventually precipitated the rapid changes which mark the history of the Far East in our day. This was the work of the Cossacks who, acting largely on their own initiative, gradually extended the control of Russia over this vast expanse of territory. For the next two centuries, however, the Tsars paid little attention to this region, using it merely as a place of exile for political offenders. But when Russia was checked by the other powers of Europe in her designs upon Turkey, especially after the Crimean War, she began to direct her attention towards Siberia and the regions in Asia immediately to the east of the Caspian Sea.

The advance of Russia into the great continent of Asia followed three lines or avenues: (1) that by Siberia; (2) that by Turkestan; and (3) by the route across the Caucasus toward Turkey and Persia. This last may be considered one of the routes to Constantinople.

By this time it was evident that the valleys of the Dnieper

**Reasons for  
the Coloniza-  
tion of Siberia**

and the Don and the fertile steppes of southern Russia were no longer sufficient to maintain the increasing peasant population. As the population of all Siberia in 1860 numbered but three and a half millions, it offered a convenient outlet for this agricultural population. Unfortunately the northern portion, lying as it does under the Arctic circle, is a frozen tundra for a large part of the year and is therefore not available for cultivation. The emigration or colonization movement which now commenced and which had the support and encouragement of the government, soon placed large tracts in the south under cultivation and began to make of Siberia one of the great granaries of the world. The movement was most active about 1880. In the period from 1893 to 1900 over a million peasants were attracted into this region. This was largely the result of the building of the Trans-Siberian railroad, of which more will be said later.

**Expansion  
Southward**

When the Russians began to realize the vast natural resources of Siberia, its furs, fish, lumber, and mineral wealth, including platinum, copper, and iron, the necessity became more pressing for a proper outlet for these products. As the harbors of Siberia are ice-locked for more than half of the year, it became necessary, if Russia was to develop any commerce, that the territorial limits of Siberia be extended southwards. This would mean expansion at the expense of China. While China was occupied with a dispute between England and France (1858-1860), Russia annexed the Chinese coast of the Sea of Okhotsk as far south as Manchuria and founded the city of Vladivostock ("Lord of the East") as a naval base.

**The Conquest  
of Turkestan**

Meanwhile the nomadic tribes on the southern frontier of Siberia, living in what is known as Turkestan, were making raids upon the Russian settlers, and it became necessary to despatch military expeditions against them. Step by step these campaigns brought this territory under Russian control until by 1895 Russia had occupied the plateau of Pamir and had almost touched the frontier of India.

The Far Eastern problem was rapidly taking shape. England began to fear that Russia had designs on India, and it was this fear that probably prompted her to declare her neutrality in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. England had remained in

**England  
in India,  
and Origin  
of Russophobia**



THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW: AN INCIDENT OF THE SEPOY MUTINY

"Havelock's glorious Highlanders answer with conquering cheers,  
Sick from the hospital echo them, women and children come out,  
Blessing the wholesome white faces of Havelock's good fusileers,  
Saved by the valor of Havelock, saved by the blessing of Heaven!  
'Hold it for fifteen days!' we have held it for eighty-seven."

—Tennyson.

peaceful possession of her Indian Empire for almost a century after the decisive conflict known as the Seven Years' War, when her control was threatened by the great Mutiny or Sepoy Rebellion of 1857-8. This was due to a variety of

**The Sepoy  
Rebellion**

causes, not the least of which was the steady progress of annexation and the hatred of the Hindus towards their conquerors. The English administrators also displayed at times an excess of zeal in remodelling India upon western lines and in accordance with western ideals. The native soldiers or sepoys on the pretext that native customs, and especially their religious scruples, had been set at naught, suddenly rose in rebellion, murdered their English officers, seized some of the principal cities, including Delhi, and sought to exterminate all Europeans. Fortunately for England the mutiny did not spread to all parts of the empire, and English authority was finally restored after several hundreds of Europeans had been brutally massacred. English prestige, however, had suffered a severe blow. The dual administration of the country by the crown and the East India Company was now terminated. India became a crown colony, thereby passing under the direct authority of England.<sup>1</sup> It was not long after this event that Russia began to loom up on the north as a possible contestant for the rich plains of the Indus and the Ganges.

**Railroad  
Construction  
in Russia**

Beginning with about 1890, the goal of Russian ambition began to lie farther East. Hand in hand with her expansion movement had gone an effort to consolidate her possessions. Three great lines of railroads were projected to this end: the Trans-Caspian; the Trans-Caucasus; and the Trans-Siberian. The first of these, opened in 1888, connects Usun Ada on the Caspian Sea with Samarcand and Tashkent, the capital of Turkestan. The Trans-Caucasus connects Baku on the Caspian Sea with Poti on the Black Sea. A steamer line crosses the Caspian from Usan Ada to Baku, thus linking together the Trans-Caucasus with the Trans-Caspian. These systems have also been linked with that greatest of all recent railway undertakings, the Trans-Siberian Railway, which was begun in 1891 and formally opened in 1902 at a cost of

<sup>1</sup> In 1876 India was declared an Empire, and the following year Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India.

\$360,000,000. It is over 3000 miles long and connects Petrograd with the Pacific. It was the question of a Pacific terminal for this road that precipitated in the Far East a crisis of such a nature as to attract the attention of all Europe and to result in an entire shifting of power there. This was in part the result of the appearance on the scene of the island empire of Japan.

**135. The Awakening of Japan.** — Before the twelfth century Japan was under the personal rule of the emperor, or Mikado. The existence of a strong feudal system, however, gradually undermined the power of the Mikado, and his duties began to devolve upon the commander-in-chief of the feudal barons, who was known as the Shogun. By the seventeenth century, the title of Shogun had become hereditary and his power overshadowed that of the Mikado. The situation may be compared to the relation which existed between the kings of the Franks and the mayors of the palace in the early Middle Ages. For the next two hundred years the Mikado was the

religious and the Shogun the temporal head of the nation. The national policy was one of strict isolation. Foreigners could not enter the country, nor could the Japanese leave it. Except for a little trade with the Dutch, foreign goods were prohibited. The United States forced the abandonment of this



Shogunate

#### A JAPANESE FEUDAL CASTLE

In Nagoya, a city ninety miles north-east of Kyoto, stands this magnificent feudal castle which was built in 1610. Except for the moat and the fortified wall, it has little in common with the feudal castles of Europe, and is of typically Japanese construction. The interior is beautifully decorated.



**Opening  
of Japan  
by Commodore  
Perry**

policy by sending Commodore Perry in 1853 with an American squadron to demand an entry for our ships into Japanese harbors. Realizing that swords and armor were no match for the American cannon, the Shogun signed a treaty with Perry, opening two ports to American ships. Similar demands were made by some of the European powers and were granted, but the action of the Shogun was resented by many of the leaders in Japan, and a movement was set on foot for his overthrow.

**The Revolution  
in Japan**

In 1866 the death of the Shogun, which was followed the year after by the death of the Mikado, brought about conditions favorable to revolution. A conflict followed between the Mikado and the Shogun, and in 1868 the last Shogun resigned his power to the young Mikado, and the era of "enlightened rule" began. This act heralded one of the most astonishing transformations in history. Within the next third of a century Japan changed from a mediaeval monarchy to one of the most progressive of twentieth century states. The nobles voluntarily gave up their feudal rights; the army and navy were reorganized after German models; a modern educational system was introduced; and in 1890 a constitutional government went into effect by the free grant of the Mikado. The legislative branch of the government is in the hands of a House of Peers and a House of Commons. The Japanese now began to draw upon the whole world for the most up-to-date and scientific methods of doing things. Quick to learn, they in many cases improved upon their western teachers. The Industrial Revolution was soon in full swing, bringing with it the same problems which were troubling the West.

**Japanese and  
Chinese Inter-  
ests in Korea**

With the new era of enlightenment came an awakened interest in the mainland, especially in the peninsula of Korea. The Japanese had long laid claim to Korea, as they believed that it had been conquered by them in prehistoric times. These claims were contested by China whose emperor had long asserted his authority over the king of Korea.

This anomalous position of Korea as the tributary of both Japan and China, combined with misgovernment, had resulted in many a clash between the rival states. Korea was like a dagger pointed at the heart of Japan, if held by any hostile nation, and as the surplus population of the island empire demanded some outlet, the Japanese began to look upon Korea and the adjacent territory of Manchuria as legitimate fields



THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

The Great Wall of China was erected two centuries before Christ to protect China from the inroads of the Tartar tribes to the north. Today it stands in almost perfect preservation, while the Wall of Hadrian has almost crumbled to pieces except in a few spots. It winds along for fifteen hundred miles, and is constructed of two strong retaining walls of brick, rising from granite foundations, the space between being filled with stones and earth. It is about twenty-five feet in breadth and the height varies from fifteen to thirty feet.

for Japanese enterprise. Korea and Manchuria now became a bone of contention between two great Oriental empires, the one Westernized and aggressive, the other dormant and inert; for in the same period which had witnessed the emergence of Japan as a powerful nation, the closed doors of China also were forced open, but with far different results.

**136. China and Its Civilization.** — Occupying a region larger than the United States, with Alaska and Great Britain thrown

in, the Chinese Empire is a land of navigable rivers, rich agricultural districts, and wonderfully abundant mineral resources, which are as yet almost untouched. It has been estimated that one province could supply the world with coal for a thousand years. Long before the people of Europe knew of the compass, gun powder, printing, paper, porcelain, tea, glue, and gelatine, these necessities of our civilization were in constant use in the "Middle Kingdom." Roads and canals equal to the best work of modern engineers have been in existence there for many hundreds of years. The high state of civilization of the Chinese is shown by their development of peaceful occupations and by their contempt for war. Confucius, their greatest national hero, was not a soldier, but a teacher and a philosopher. He taught them to worship their ancestors and to hold sacred the customs and habits of the generations that had gone before. So faithfully have these teachings been observed that they have prevented new ideas from being introduced and have given to the Chinese character its conservative and frequently unprogressive mould. New ideas, especially those of the outside world, were undesired by the Chinese. They regarded all foreigners as no more than enlightened barbarians. For this reason China maintained almost no relations with Europe until the nineteenth century; sent no ambassadors, and received none; and opened only one port, Canton, to western traders, and then under the most discouraging conditions.

The Opium  
War

This selfish policy of national isolation began to break down in the third decade of the nineteenth century. The deciding factor was one wholly to the discredit of European civilization. The government of China, wishing to root out the opium habit from among its people, forbade the importation of the drug, which is prepared from a species of poppy which grows in India. But for thirty years a smuggling trade was carried on by Europeans, and grafting Chinese officials conveniently closed their eyes to the traffic. By 1837 the profits of the trade to the producers of the drug in British India were enormous. Then the

Chinese government decided to enforce the law against the importation of opium and seized and destroyed thousands of chests of the drug at Canton. Some of the government's acts seemed to the British to be a reflection upon their national honor, and they therefore went to war with China (1840) and were easily victorious. By the Treaty of Nanking (1842), China was compelled: (1) to pay a large indemnity, partly as compensation for the opium confiscated; (2) to open five ports to English trade, namely, Amoy, Foochow, Shanghai, Canton, and Ningpo; and (3) to cede to Great Britain the island of Hong Kong. Some years later the English again came into collision with the Chinese at Canton. France, enraged at the murder of a French missionary by the Chinese, joined with England in intervention. A joint force penetrated even to the capital, and by the Treaties of Tientsin and the convention of Peking (1860) China was forced to receive ambassadors from the intervening countries, to open additional ports to both, and to pay further indemnities.

**Treaty  
of Nanking**

**Treaties  
of Tientsin**

From this time forward China began to be permeated with European influences. This came about in two ways: by the direct introduction of Europeans, and by Chinese emigration. Consuls took up their residence at the open ports, and powerful banking and trading houses were founded. Steamship service was established and later railways constructed. Meanwhile China was obliged to call for European assistance to quell the Taiping rebellion. The results of this rebellion were that the management of the custom house at Shanghai was intrusted to an Englishman, and the direction of the arsenal of Foochow to a French officer of marine. The Chinese now began to leave their land in great numbers, but it was always their ambition and desire that their bones should be brought back to their native land for burial. The old Portuguese port of Macao acquired a new importance through its traffic in the living and the dead.

**Influence  
of Europe  
upon China**

About 1859 France began to penetrate China from the southeast through the region known as Indo-China, a sort of

**The French  
in Indo-China**

halfway station between India and the Chinese Empire. The French first secured a foothold in this peninsula through the efforts of Napoleon III, occupying Cochin China and exercising a protectorate over Cambodia. After the Franco-German War, by a series of campaigns, they secured Tonkin and placed Annam under a French protectorate. By these possessions they had control of a natural gateway into the province of Yunnan and had thrust a wedge between England's possessions in India and Burma and her foothold at Hong Kong.

**137. Chino-Japanese War, 1894-95, and its Effects.**— In spite of this contact with civilizations so clearly superior to her own, in the main China still pursued the even tenor of her way and remained as Oriental and as unprogressive as she had been for centuries. This was the situation in the Far East when Japan and China finally came to blows over Korea. During the quarter of a century which elapsed between 1870 and the outbreak of this struggle, the greatest figure in China was Li Hung Chang. He was one of the few leaders who seemed to realize the advantages of European civilization and the necessity on the part of China of adopting the same modern methods of defence as were used in the West. He had risen by successive steps to the position of governor of the province in which was located the capital city of Peking. This office brought him in direct contact with the throne, and in his hands were vested the relations with the outside world. He was a wily, shrewd diplomat, and had his hands been entirely free, China might have faced the crisis of the war with Japan with brighter prospects of success, for he had succeeded in partially remodelling the army on western lines and in laying the foundations for a navy.

The conditions which precipitated the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-5 were somewhat analogous to those which occasioned the break between Prussia and Austria in 1866. The conflict of authority in Korea may be compared to the conflicting interests of Austria and Prussia in Schleswig-Holstein. The

Causes

Li Hung Chang

anarchic conditions which prevailed in Korea seemed to call for vigorous repressive measures. Japan therefore proposed to China joint intervention, but China refused. It was a question whether this proposal was made in good faith, as Japan possessed at the time a party favorable to war. When the break came China realized her helplessness before a Westernized power. She was driven from the peninsula and defeated in Manchuria as disastrously as the Austrians were in their war with Prussia. Li Hung Chang was made the scapegoat for this failure by his government, but his ability was so far recognized that at its close he was intrusted with the peace negotiations. By the Peace of Shimonoseki (1895), China ceded to Japan the Liao-tung peninsula, including the important fortress of Port Arthur, and the island of Formosa; recognized the independence of Korea; and agreed to pay nearly \$175,000,000 war indemnity to her conqueror.

**Peace of  
Shimonoseki**

At this juncture Russia, backed by England and Germany, brought pressure to bear upon Japan, "in the cause of peace," to give up the Liao-tung peninsula, for they held that its possession by Japan was a perpetual menace to China's territorial integrity. The explanation of this act soon appeared in the schemes of Russia to secure a satisfactory terminal for her great transcontinental line. She, too, had her eyes fixed longingly upon Port Arthur and hoped to dominate the neighboring province of Manchuria. Japan was in no condition to go to war with Europe; so she restored the peninsula and Port Arthur to China. This act signalized a new era in the Far East. Japan realized that she must face one or more of the great European powers in a life and death struggle for supremacy in a region which seems to her ever increasingly necessary to her continuance as a nation. Accordingly she began to build a strong navy which would be her right arm when that struggle should come. The hollowness of the pretensions of the three great European powers soon appeared when Russia used the building of the Eastern Chinese railroad, a section of the Trans-

**Foreign  
Aggressions  
in China**

**Russia**

Siberian system, as an excuse for filling Manchuria with her soldiers and in 1898 obtained a twenty-five-year lease of Port Arthur from China.

**Germany****England  
and France**

Her partners in the events of 1895 were not far behind her in securing for themselves advantages in the Far East. The murder of two German missionaries in the province of Shantung furnished occasion for a German protest to the Chinese government. A fleet was despatched, and the slow action of the Chinese government in investigating the outrage enabled Germany to demand the lease of the harbor of Kiao-chao and a practical monopoly of railroad and mining privileges in the province of Shantung. The Chinese government was forced to yield, and thus Germany obtained a "sphere of influence" in that part of China. Great Britain, not to be outdone by her neighbors, demanded and obtained the lease of the port of Wei-hai-Wei on the Yellow Sea. France also demanded and obtained a port in China. It seemed in 1898 that China was to experience the same treatment that the European powers had inflicted on Africa. But an internal revolution in China brought this movement to a sudden termination.

**The Boxer  
Movement****Tsu-hsi**

A few of the more far-sighted Chinese had been profoundly impressed by the impotence shown by China in the face of European aggression, and they had succeeded in winning over the young emperor in an effort to do for China what had been done for Japan. The attempt failed, for a new force and a new figure appeared upon the scene. Just as the Carbonari in Italy and the Jacobins in France profoundly influenced the course of events in their respective countries, so an organization of Chinese known as the Boxers played a similar rôle in China. They were actuated by the policy of "China for the Chinese" and bitterly opposed all foreign ideas. This was the new force. The new personality was the Dowager Empress Tsu-hsi. By a *coup d'état* she brushed aside the young Emperor and assumed control of the situation. She undoubtedly sympathized with

the patriotic movement represented by the Boxers, and encouraged their anti-foreign propaganda. The reactionary, orientalizing party for the time being had the upper hand. The Boxers adopted as their watchword, "Drive the foreign devils into the sea," and in 1900 the storm burst with the murder of scores of European missionaries and hundreds of native Chinese Christians. The German ambassador was assassinated in the streets of Peking and the other foreign ministers were besieged in their legations.

These events created a profound impression throughout the entire West, and the European powers concerned called for immediate action. With Japan and the United States, they arranged for a relief expedition, which rescued the foreigners in Peking, suppressed the Boxer revolt, and demanded an excessive indemnity for the destruction of the lives and property of all the intervening powers. The United States, after paying all legal claims for damages sustained by its citizens, returned the unused portion of its share of the indemnity to China, thereby cementing new ties of friendship with the Chinese people.<sup>1</sup> At the close of the war the powers involved renounced all thought of dismembering China and formally guaranteed its territorial integrity.

**The Relief Expedition**

**138. The Conflict between Russia and Japan.**— Events now moved swiftly towards a clash between Russia and Japan. Russia's attitude alone belied the agreement which the powers had made to maintain the "open-door" policy and to abandon the idea of territorial acquisitions. Japan became suspicious of her activities in Manchuria. In 1902 having concluded a treaty of alliance with Great Britain, Japan felt ready to demand from Russia a withdrawal from Manchuria. After months of evasion on the part of Russia, which Japan believed were being used to strengthen the position of the latter power in that province, the island empire suddenly

**The "Open-Door" Policy**

**Alliance between Japan and Great Britain**

<sup>1</sup> This balance is being used by the Chinese government to send students to the United States to be educated.



broke off diplomatic relations and began hostilities. Early in February, 1904, the Russian fleet was destroyed in the har-

bor of Port Arthur, and that Russian fortress was besieged. Port Arthur finally surrendered, and the Japanese army pressed on to destroy the Russian army at Mukden early in 1905. This gave the Japanese command over the southern section of the Trans-Siberian system. Meanwhile, in August, 1904, the Vladivostok and Port Arthur fleets had been eliminated. In May, 1905, the Japanese fleet annihilated a Russian fleet in the Straits of Tsushima, thus giving Japan the mastery of the seas. On the initiative of President Roosevelt, representatives of the two belligerents met at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and negotiated a treaty of peace. Russia agreed to evacuate Manchuria and gave her lease of Port Arthur and the Liao-Tung Peninsula to Japan. She also ceded the southern half of the island of Saghalin, north of the Japanese archipelago. Korea was to be subject to Japanese influence. In 1910 Japan annexed that state, and it is now known as the Japanese province of Chosen.

Japan had now disposed of her greatest rival and had attained the position of arbiter of events in the Far East. This marked a real epoch in the history of the

Siege of  
Port Arthur

Mukden



Treaty  
of Portsmouth

#### THE OLD JAPANESE SOLDIER

The contrast between this equipment of a Japanese soldier of the period before the Revolution in Japan and the modern uniform of Japan, shown on the opposite page, is striking. The general effect of the armor of the Japanese is startling, and it was designed to terrify the enemy.

**Far Eastern Question.** Japan's victory over a great European nation was an inspiration to the reform movement in China. After the suppression of the Boxer revolt in 1900, the Chinese government at first seemed favorable to reform measures. Steps were taken towards inaugurating a constitutional government, but the crafty empress dowager, Tsu-hsi, sought to keep the power well within her own hands. The cause of reform seemed threatened, but the movement had gone too far to be suppressed. Revolts broke out in various parts of the empire, the dynasty of the Manchus was deposed, and a provisional government was established. A republic was set up, and a constitution prepared which was in some respects modelled after that of the United States. Dr. Sun Yat Sen, a well-educated physician, was the heart and soul of the reform movement, and to him was intrusted the destinies of the new China. His administration was short-lived, and Yuan Shi Kai, a former minister of the Manchu dynasty, was next chosen president.

**139. Japan as a Great Power.** — Early in the European War of 1914, it became evident that Japan was to play a still more prominent rôle in Far Eastern history. As

**Effects upon  
the Far East**



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#### OYAMA

Field Marshal Oyama received his military training with the German army during the Franco-German War. He was commander-in-chief of the second Japanese army corps in the war with China, and took Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei. During the war with Russia, he was commander-in-chief in Manchuria. This picture shows him standing in front of his head-quarters at Mukden.

**Chinese Revolution, 1911**

Japan in the  
European War  
of 1914

Kiao-chao

Japanese  
Demands  
on China

the ally of Great Britain, she formally entered the war against the Teutonic allies and began a siege of Kiao-chao, the German port on the Yellow Sea. The German garrison defended it bravely, but were forced to surrender before overwhelming numbers. When Japan took possession, she announced that



YUAN SHI KAI

Successively Prime Minister, President, Emperor and President of China. For over five years, until his death in 1916, the fate of the Dragon monarchy-republic hinged upon this militant and wily statesman.

she intended ultimately to restore the port to China. Japanese squadrons also scoured the Pacific and seized various German island colonies.

The Japanese, recognizing perhaps the opportunity which was theirs of still further strengthening their position in the East, early in 1915 made definite demands upon China, which, had they been granted, would have virtually debarred Europe from the country and have made it a Japanese dependency. China was to transfer to her certain railroad and commercial privileges in South Manchuria and Eastern

Inner Mongolia; the railroads were to be exclusively under Japanese control for ninety-nine years; and no other countries were to be allowed to build or finance railroads there without the consent of Japan. A joint force of Japanese and Chinese were to police important places in China. China was to obtain from Japan a certain quantity of arms, and the Chinese government was to engage influential Japanese as advisors for administrative, financial, and military affairs. China was to recognize Japanese predominance in those portions of China conquered from the Germans, and finally, China was to agree not to make any further lease of any part of China to the Euro-

pean powers without the consent of Japan. This in effect was to establish in China a condition of affairs similar to that created in South and Central America by the Monroe Doctrine.

At first China was disposed to appeal to the western nations to compel Japan to recede from her aggressive demands. But

Europe was at war, and the United States felt that the whole question was one in which she was not directly concerned, provided her commercial and similar interests were guaranteed. The landing of Japanese troops at the port of Tientsin in China forced China to yield on many of the points demanded. Japan's purpose is evidently to dominate Eastern Asia, either by conquest, or by establishing a definite Japanese overlordship over China, or by a confederation of Asiatic states, with Japan as the leader, or, at least, by the application of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine in relation to her affairs with China. As one authority has said, "It is a fact surely worthy of special note

that wherever Japan sets her foot — no matter how she may have placed it there and no matter what promises she may have given regarding evacuation — there she remains for good." It will be well, on the other hand, to hear the view of Count Okuma, Ex-Premier of Japan: "Japan now has continental possessions, and it is felt that China is powerless herself to



Chinese  
Concessions

SUN YAT SEN

Dr. Sun has perhaps not been entirely eliminated from power in Chinese affairs, although he resigned the provisional presidency. In 1916 a formidable revolution broke out in the southern provinces of China, where the influence of Dr. Sun is very great.

The Far East  
in 1916

maintain the integrity of her territory — a weakness which brings the influence of the powers to operate in China. . . . Japan is now a continental as well as an insular country, and requires a strong navy to insure connection between the different parts of the Empire as well as a defensive army.” Japan is,



TOKIO

The only touch of old Japan in this view of a street in Tokio, the capital, is the jinrikisha, or wheeled chair. The swiftness of the transformation of Japan from the middle ages to modern times is here well illustrated.

perhaps, prepared for a struggle for mastery not only in Shantung, which she gained from the Germans, not only in the Manchurian Province, which she gained from the Russians, but also in China itself. China has keenly realized her powerlessness to thwart Japanese designs and before the death of Yuan Shi Kai, in 1916, there was a movement on foot to transform the republic into a constitutional monarchy.

**140. The Great Colonial Powers of the Present Day.** — This expansion movement has not been carried to its present point of development without bitter rivalries and jealousies. Those who have benefited primarily by it are Great Britain, Russia, France,

Japan, Germany, and the United States. These are the great colonial powers of today. Next to them are the smaller states of Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Denmark, and Belgium. The fields represented by the colonial interests of these nations have already been pointed out. The forms and methods by which they have gained and now maintain their control are either economic or political. The methods employed to obtain economic control have been varied. The would-be colonial power loans vast sums of money to semi-civilized governments, as was the case of Egypt, and upon their failure to pay their debts seizes control over their national finances, which inevitably leads to the second form of control — political domination. Another method is by the building and control of great public works, such as railroads, in the coveted region. Inevitably this calls for a policing of the railroads by the soldiers of the colonizing power, as in Manchuria, and it is then but a short step to empire. Just as varied have been the methods of political control. First there is the dependency, where pro-consuls or military governors rule with more or less absolute authority. This system Great Britain employs in India, although nominally ruling the supposedly self-governing native states as a protector. This last-named relationship suggests a second method of control — the protectorate. Here the control is more shadowy. The protecting state watches over the foreign relations of the vassal state and affords it a varying degree of freedom in its internal affairs. A third method is by the self-governing colony. Great Britain has been remarkably successful with this method, as is shown in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa. These countries are to all intents and purposes republics. They have their own parliaments, elected by popular vote. At the head of the government is a responsible ministry modelled upon the British cabinet. The sole connection between the colony and the mother country is the governor-general sent from England. He acts as the representative of the British government in the colony and, with his vice-regal powers,

Methods of  
Control:  
Economic

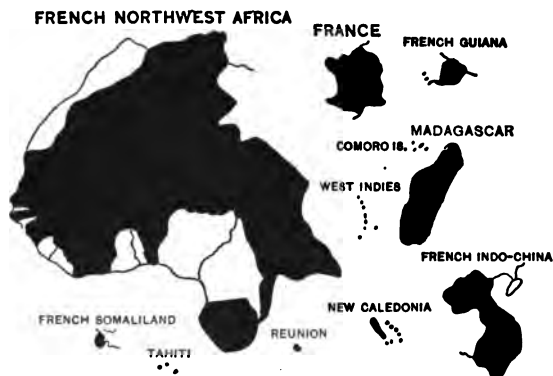
Political



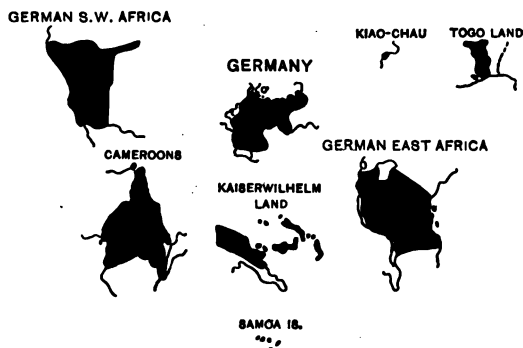
### **TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1914**

Note:- This and the following maps of territorial possessions are drawn to the same scale for purposes of comparison.

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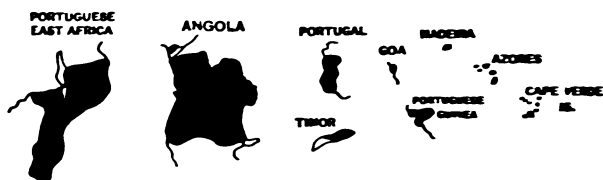


**TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS OF FRANCE, 1914**

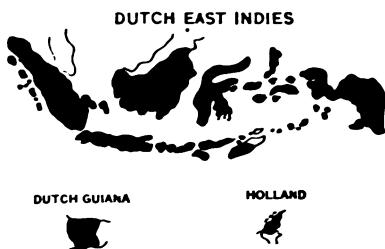


**TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS OF GERMANY, 1914**





**TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS OF PORTUGAL, 1914**



**TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS OF HOLLAND, 1914**



**TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1914**

delights the imagination of the royalty-loving Briton, however little he really interferes with the actual colonial administration. Imperial federation is an outgrowth of this form of control. First in Canada, then in Australia, and finally in South Africa, federative systems of government have been introduced, binding the separate colonies in each of these localities the more closely together and making for a larger measure of self-government.

The English have been especially successful in the promotion of great industrial works, such as factories, railroads, and mining ventures in their colonial possessions. In the development of trade in the commercial wares of her colonies and in the exchange of articles manufactured in Europe, the English are rivalled by no other people save the Germans. The latter have also proven successful as agricultural colonists, especially in America. They are willing to settle in a wilderness in the hope of making it blossom like the rose; and their willingness to endure hardships and hard work is an important feature of their colonial efforts. Although the French lack this quality and have not been as successful as true colonizers, they have proven themselves great colonial administrators and have added considerably to the wealth of their colonies. The Dutch are very successful in winning the loyalty of their subject colonies by a policy of avoiding friction with native customs and institutions.

**The English  
as Colonial  
Rulers**

**The Germans  
as Colonizers**

**The French  
Colonial  
System**

**Dutch Policy**

**141. The Influence of Expansion upon the European Situation and the European War of 1914.** — The principle of imperialism has for several decades exercised a marked influence upon international relations, and this influence will undoubtedly continue into the future. As Russia reached out toward the Pacific, she came in conflict with the expansionist programme of Japan, with a far-reaching train of consequences whose end no one can prophesy. Great Britain and Russia may come some day to blows over the control of central Asia. France and Great Britain were perilously near war over their interests in Africa, when at Fashoda the French attempted to prevent

**The Fashoda  
Incident**

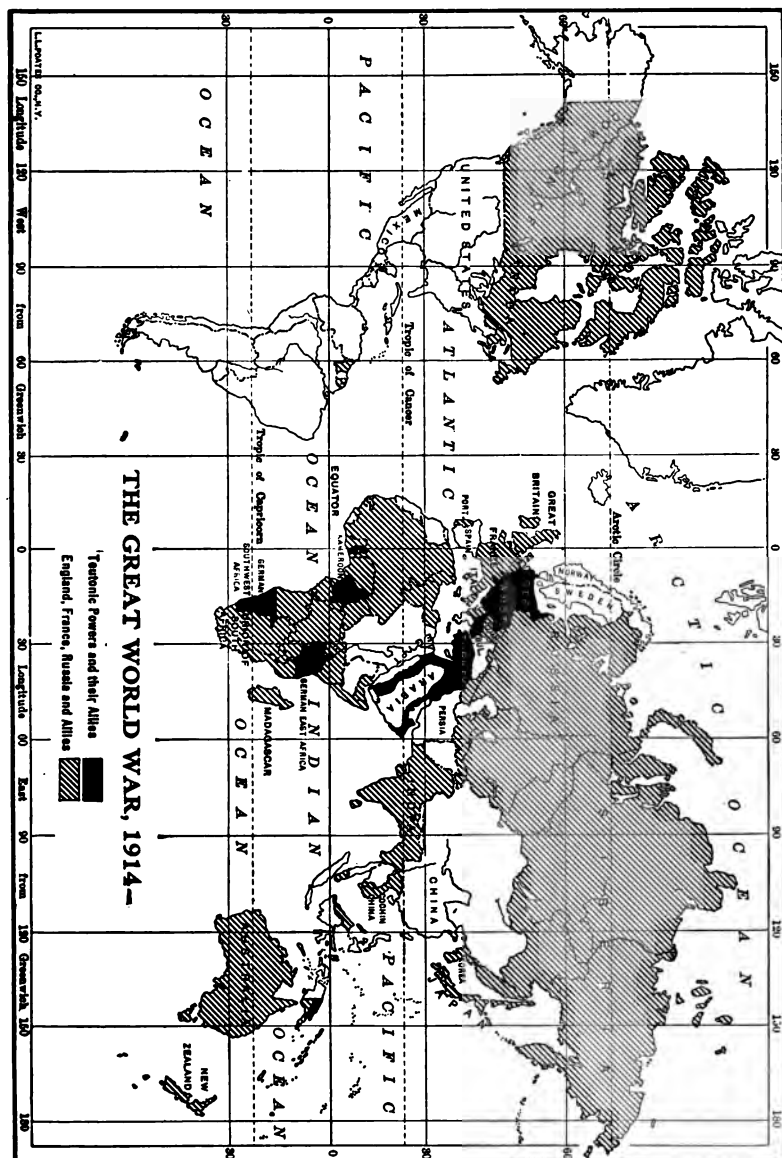
**The Algeçiras  
Conference**

Great Britain from reaping the reward of her victory over the Mahdists in 1898. In 1906 Germany attempted to drive France out of Morocco and desisted only because of the firm stand of England and the other powers in the Algeçiras conference. The United States has a keen interest in the maintenance of the Open-door in China and in wielding a paramount influence in South America. The causes of the present war in large part are to be found in this rivalry for world dominion, this struggle for the Near East, for the mastery of the Pacific, and for the world's commerce.

**Panslavism  
in the Balkans**

The Russian plan of territorial extension southward to the Dardanelles, by uniting under her influence the people of the Balkan peninsula, long menaced the world's peace. England was one of the chief antagonists of Russia in this diplomatic contest; but in recent years German influence has been supreme in Constantinople. For centuries Austria has dreamed of the acquisition of the weaker Balkan states, yet the people of these states were overwhelmingly Slavic and hence more favorable to Russia. In Hungary, Russia was accused of fomenting conspiracies against the government in the interests of Panslavism. It required but a slight episode to precipitate a general conflict. This was the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand on the 28th of June, 1914, while riding through the streets of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The assassin boasted that he was a Serb, although a citizen of Austria-Hungary. The latter government decided to use this incident as an excuse for humbling Serbia and made such drastic demands upon that government that to have acceded to them would have meant the virtual loss of independence. Russia thereupon notified Austria that she would not allow Austria to make war on Serbia "upon a mere pretext," and Germany responded with a demand upon Russia to keep out of the quarrel on penalty of war with both the Teutonic states. Like a row of blocks which children set up to topple over, the principal powers of Europe entered the war.

**Causes of  
the European  
War of 1914**



Belgium became the highroad of a tremendous invasion by the German armies into France, and England entered the war to redress this alleged violation of Belgium's neutrality. How the war settled down to a grim burrowing beneath the ground in the entrenched and far flung battle lines on the East and



SARAJEVO

A view of the quaint little city of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, where the Crown Prince of Austria was assassinated. In the 14th and 15th centuries this city was the capital of an independent kingdom, but it was conquered by the Turks early in the 15th century and remained under Ottoman rule until the 19th century.

West; how Japan entered the war, ostensibly as the ally of England, but primarily to gain territorial and commercial supremacy in the Far East; how Italy finally threw in her sword against her old partners of the Triple Alliance; how a new Quadruple Alliance was formed by Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria; how Roumania after long

delay unsheathed the sword; of Zeppelin and submarine warfare; and the world-wide character of this most disastrous conflict that the world has ever known; all these must be the province of a future writing.

#### SUGGESTIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Name in order the independent states which have emerged from the Ottoman Empire in modern times.
2. Explain the part played by the European powers in the establishment of the kingdom of Greece and discuss the bearing of this matter on the European War of 1914.
3. Discuss the causes, events, results, and the terms of the treaty ending the Crimean War.
4. Discuss the unbearable conditions under the rule of the Sultan in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria.
5. Contrast the policies of Gladstone and Disraeli concerning the Balkan question.
6. Discuss the causes, events, results and the terms of the treaty ending the Russo-Turkish War, 1877-8.
7. Show how the proceedings of the Congress of Berlin sowed the seeds for a later general European War.
8. Describe the establishment of the kingdom of Bulgaria.
9. What is the Pan-Slavic movement?
10. What is your estimate of the work of the Young Turk party?
11. What is the present status of the Balkan situation?
12. Give a more complete account of the Mahdist rebellion.
13. Describe the administration of Lord Cromer.
14. What is the object of the Nationalist movement in Egypt?
15. Why is the Suez Canal regarded as the "Heel of Achilles" of the British empire?
16. How have the military operations around the Suez Canal perhaps modified the future interpretation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty regarding the Panama Canal?
17. What is the outlook for Morocco?
18. What bearing has the Great European War on the future of the Congo region?
19. Describe the operations of the British colonial forces against the German colonies in Africa, 1914-16.
20. Summarize the British conquest of South Africa touching on the seizure of Natal and the Orange River colony; Gladstone and the Boers; Boer policy toward foreigners; Jameson's raid; Kruger; attitude of William II of Germany during the Boer War; the Boer War and its results; the present government of South Africa and its problems.
21. Summarize the policies of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, and Japan with regard to China.
22. Summarize Chinese history from the Chino-Japanese War to the death of Yuan Shi Kai in 1916.
23. Contrast political, social, and industrial conditions in Japan before and since the revolution.
24. In the light of the Great European War did Germany receive a fair deal at the Algeiras conference?
25. What colonies were held by each of the following nations at the opening of the European War in 1914: Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Portugal, The Netherlands, Spain? What changes in possession have been effected?
26. Discuss the conditions in India at the present time.
27. What was the Quebec Act?
28. Give the terms of the Canadian Federation Act of 1867.
29. Discuss

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the territorial and industrial advance of Canada since the federation. 30. What are the political parties in Canada today? For what does each stand? 31. Discuss the relation between Canada and Great Britain; Canada and the United States. 32. How large a part of India is under the direct rule of England? What are the relations maintained with the other portions? 33. Describe the social reforms introduced in Australia and New Zealand. 34. Compare the governments of Australia and Canada. 35. Illustrate the loyalty of the British colonies to their sovereign since 1870.

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2. Independence of the kingdom of Greece. *Ibid.*, pp. 384-8.
3. The Crimean War. *Ibid.*, pp. 389-94.
4. Treaty of Berlin. *Ibid.*, pp. 396-8.
5. Macedonian disorders. *Ibid.*, pp. 399-400.
6. Bulgarian independence. *Ibid.*, pp. 395-6, 400-1.
7. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Ibid.*, pp. 401-3.
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15. Abolition of the opium traffic. *Ibid.*, pp. 419-22.
16. Chinese Gordon. *Ibid.*, pp. 422-3.
17. A review of Japan's economic advance. *Ibid.*, pp. 430-1.
18. Japanese constitution. *Ibid.*, pp. 431-3.
19. Chino-Japanese War. *Ibid.*, pp. 433-5.



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20. The Boxer uprising. *Ibid.*, pp. 435-41.
21. The educational revolution in China. *Ibid.*, pp. 441-4.
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24. Stanley and Livingston: Robinson and Beard, Vol. II, pp. 449-52.
25. The partition of Africa. *Ibid.*, pp. 448-9.
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27. English occupation of Egypt. *Ibid.*, pp. 454-8. Year-books for 1914-15.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

1. On an outline map of the Balkan region show the Ottoman Empire at its widest extent; indicate the various losses of the empire to 1914. 2. On an outline map of the Balkan regions show the problems of nationality which produced the European War of 1914. 3. On an outline map of Europe indicate the alignment of powers in the European War of 1914. 4. Show the expansion of Russia in Asia at the time of its widest extent. Indicate the losses. Show the Trans-Siberian railroad. 5. Show the growth of Japanese empire in eastern Asia; indicate the principal places of historic interest in China. 6. Show the partition of Africa to 1914. Indicate the colonial problems arising from the European War of 1914. Locate the places mentioned in the chapter. Show the route of the Cape to Cairo railroad; of Stanley's explorations; of the projected German railroad; the Suez Canal. 7. Show the spheres of interest of the great European powers in Asia Minor and Persia. Locate the principal railroad projects. Indicate the strategic points in the European War of 1914. 8. Show on an outline map the territorial divisions of Canada; the transcontinental railroads; the principal cities. 9. Show on a map of Australasia the territorial divisions; the gold region; the principal cities. 10. On a map of the world show the distribution of the principal European languages. 11. On a map of the world show the colonial possessions of Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, and the United States in 1914. 12. On a map of the world show the distribution of the principal European races. Locate the routes made possible by the Panama Canal; by the Suez Canal.

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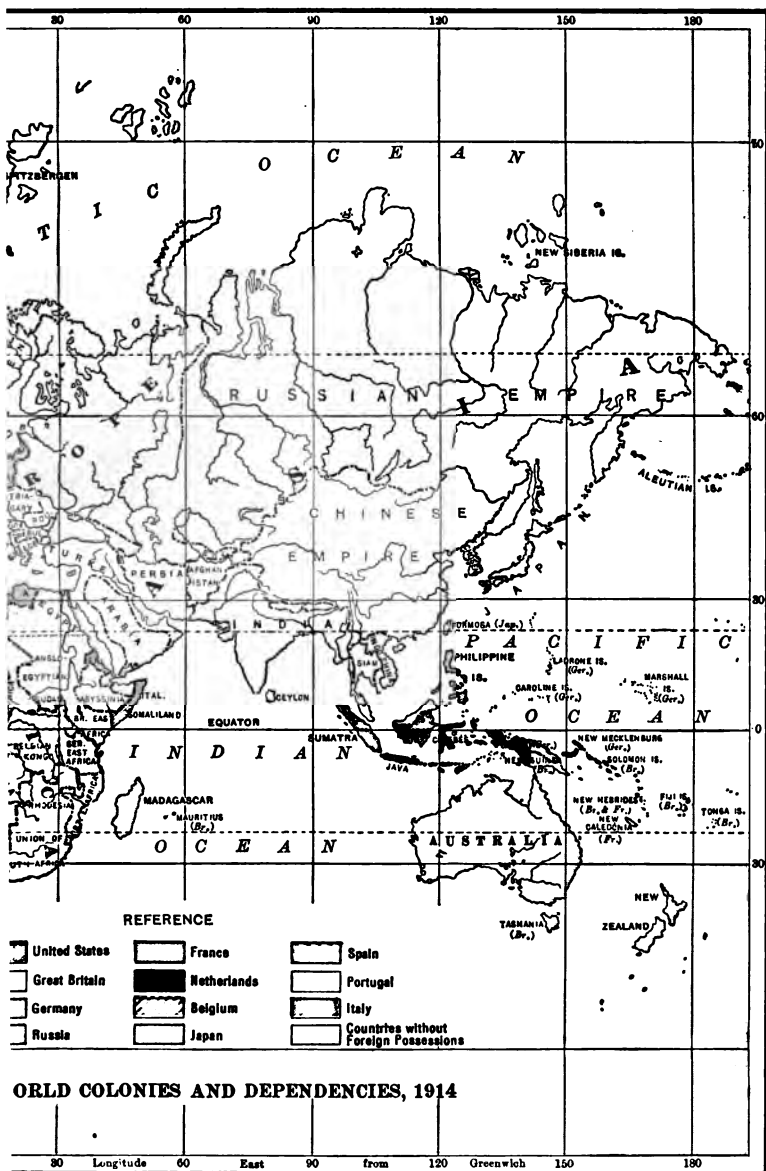
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## CHAPTER XII

### THE ADVANCE OF DEMOCRACY

**142. The Domestic Problems of Individual States in 1870: their Origin and Nature.** — While the different states of Europe were taking an active part in shaping the destinies of the heretofore uncivilized and backward continents, they were undergoing important changes within their own boundaries. These changes were in part the result of this expansion movement and therefore cannot be separated from it. It is perhaps possible to appreciate more fully the transformation which these states were undergoing in their social, political, and intellectual life if it be considered apart from the external developments described in the preceding chapter. The epoch which opens about 1870 found them confronting certain difficulties which were in a measure a legacy from their past. For example, the creation of two new states, the German Empire and the Kingdom of Italy, was not accomplished without giving rise to many a perplexing problem to be solved by succeeding generations. Attention has already been called to this fact in a preceding chapter (sec. 267).

The problems to which these events gave rise were not without their influence upon neighboring states, and, as is the case with the individual so it was with the state, it found it impossible to "live unto itself." The Industrial Revolution, which was fast spreading to the remotest confines of the globe and which was taking on new forms and developments with the progress of time, gave rise to new issues which made the tasks of the statesmen of this epoch more and more difficult. Industry, accompanied as it was by intellectual and scientific progress,

**Conditions  
Responsible for  
the Problems**



seemed to have no fixed bounds or limits; commerce assumed stranger and stranger forms and shaped all social and political progress as never before in human history. Older problems took on larger and larger proportions until they loomed like great obstacles in the path of progress.

**The Great Problems**

Among the more important problems which now pressed for solution were: (1) militarism and the great burden of maintaining armaments; (2) the desire of each nation to give expression to its ideals and to shape progress after its own peculiar notions; (3) the relations of church and state; (4) the profitable development of trade and industry, with the question of the relative advantages of a free trade *versus* a protective policy; (5) the extension of education; and (6) finally, related to all these, and yet distinct from them all, the spread of socialism and the growth of socialist parties.

**Their Origin**

All these problems can be readily traced in their origin to one or the other of the general conditions already mentioned. The desire of Bismarck to keep Germany in a state of preparedness in the event that France should seek to recover her lost provinces; the knowledge that he had attained his end by force and that it would be unwise, for the time being, at least, to abandon the methods which had proved so successful, committed Germany to a policy which has been widely imitated.

**Militarism**

There was not only conscious imitation but a conviction in the minds of many of the leaders of other states that only by similar methods could their own states hope to retain their place in the sun, and not only maintain their existence but count for something among their neighbors. Sardinia had demonstrated the advantages of a well-organized army in the formation of the new kingdom of Italy, and it was natural that it too should continue to maintain an effective fighting force. The nations of Western Europe, one and all, with the exception of England, adopted or maintained a system of compulsory military service. Each vied with the other in the adoption of new and improved fighting machines and in the expenditure of

vast sums of money upon their fighting forces, be they armies or navies. The question began to be raised in many of these states as to whether such expenditures were not sapping their vitality and energy and might not better be abandoned for more profitable forms of effort.

The intensity of the national spirit in some of the countries of Europe often showed itself in a form of chauvinism, or a contempt for neighboring states, that called for vigorous repression on the part of those in power. This condition was in part responsible for the imperialistic tendencies discussed elsewhere.

**Nationalism**

Intellectual progress and the desire to free education from the control of any particular church organization helped to bring the question of church and state to the fore in many of the countries of Europe. The absorption of the papal territories into the new kingdom of Italy caused this question to assume a different aspect here from its form elsewhere. Then again there was the desire to consolidate into one administrative system all religious activities except those of actual worship. Everywhere the relationship gave rise to perplexing questions. In some cases the state church was maintained by the contributions of a people who worshipped in a different church and who felt it to be a rank injustice to have their money diverted to an institution for which they felt no attachment. Such was the case, for example, in Ireland. These questions of church and state were only one of the many results of the equalizing and levelling movement which is a marked characteristic of recent years.

**Relations  
of Church  
and State**

How best to secure and hold its trade was a matter of absorbing interest to each state as it began to realize the increasing profits which accrued from this source with the perfection of modern business methods. Whether to erect the barrier of a tariff wall or to allow free entry to the goods of others was a question not easy to answer, as it involved so many considerations of wages, nationality, and standards of living.

**Free Trade  
or Protection**

Education, outside of certain very limited areas, had thus far not made much progress and many of the countries still suffered from the effects of the ignorance and low mentality of the masses. How best to meet the need everywhere recognized, without at the same time undermining the foundations of society and of the state by a too rapid transition from their former condition; what sort of an education to provide; how best to deal with the evils which ignorance had already deeply rooted — these were matters of no little moment to many of the states of Europe in the period which opened about 1870.

**Illiteracy**

The unrest of the epoch was to be seen in the rapid advance of the socialist movement, not alone among the wage earners but among the thinking classes. The origin of the movement has already been touched upon as well as the different theories held by its adherents as to how the present order of society should be changed and improved. The peaceful solutions proposed by the early socialists now began to give place to more violent and radical programmes. For example, there were the Syndicalists represented in this country by the Industrial Workers of the World. They had their origin in France and took their name from the *syndic*, the French equivalent for a trade union. They counselled violence to attain their ends and conceived the relations between capital and labor to be that of a perpetual warfare in which neither side should ask or give quarter. The workers were to wage a bitter struggle with the capitalists until they had wrested from them the machines and factories which gave them their peculiar advantage. Political parties bearing the name of socialist were formed in every state. This may be traced in part to the influence of a young German, Karl Marx. In 1848 he issued the Communist Manifesto, calling upon all workers to unite. Organized political socialism may be said to date from this step. The socialists abandoned their Utopian visions of the early days and began to unite as political parties, demanding the reorganization of the existing social and industrial order on the basis of democratic government. In other words

**Spread of  
Socialism**

**Karl Marx  
and the  
Socialist  
Parties**

they sought a species of industrial democracy. Many of their adherents sought not so much the new social order to be secured through the reorganization of industry, but rather a greater measure of political freedom. The social democratic parties, as they were often called, were parties of protest and usually the only party in a position to voice the longings of the people.

**Industrial  
Democracy**

The political transformation which brought the nations of Europe nearer and nearer to the goal of true democracy can be best understood and its significance grasped by passing in review the great powers of western Europe. In each one the voice of the people begins to be heard and heeded, but this does not mean that in every case they attain to the same measure of freedom, nor do they find themselves the real masters of the situation. Two nations stand out as bulwarks of the monarchic and autocratic idea: Germany and Russia.

**143. The Preponderance of Germany in Europe and the Maintenance of the Monarchical Principle.**—Two aims seemed to dominate Bismarck, who continued in power for the first twenty years of the period: namely, to maintain Germany's commanding position in Europe and to preserve the imperial form of government. These objects were also sought by his real successor, the present Emperor William II.

**German Aims**

Bismarck made it a cardinal point in his policies to safeguard the work completed in 1871 by powerful alliances which should prevent France from recovering her lost provinces and at the same time give Germany a commanding position in Europe. He courted the Tsar, the Emperor of Austria, and later the King of Italy. The first alliance which he concluded was known as the league of the three Emperors and included the German Emperor, the ruler of Austria, and the Russian Tsar. He lost the friendship of Russia, however, because of his part in the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Russia's place being taken later by Italy (1882). This new alliance, which was defensive in character, was known as the Triple Alliance and guaranteed to each state the arrangements which it had already made for its own

internal affairs and for its existing boundaries. France was in a position of almost complete isolation until Russia's defection from the league of the three Emperors. Such was the rapidity of France's recovery from the events of 1870-1871 and so fearful was Bismarck of a reopening of the Alsace-Lorraine question in a war of revenge upon Germany, that it has been asserted that he was on the point of attacking her in 1875, had he not been dissuaded by the attitude of Russia. Bismarck and William I were most successful in making and holding friends for Germany. German diplomacy has not proved quite so successful since Bismarck's fall. The Empire has nevertheless attained to the position of a world power and is the rival of England in her influence over Western Europe. This is largely the result of the naval policy begun by her present ruler and the maintenance of friendly relations with her neighbors. The European War of 1914, however, has upset these relationships in a disagreeable manner.

**The Imperial  
Government**

**The Power  
of Prussia**

A careful analysis of the government of the German Empire shows on the one hand a retention of certain mediaeval forms and practices and, on the other, the tremendous power and influence of Prussia over the whole imperial edifice. When Bismarck drew up a constitution for the North-German Confederation, which later became the framework of the government of modern Germany, he was dominated by one idea, and that was to make Prussia supreme. This was a comparatively easy task, as so much of German territory was under her direct control. The Prussian constitution has not been changed radically since its proclamation in 1850. The friends of democracy were disappointed in the results accomplished in its framing, as has already been indicated. Bismarck's apparently high-handed acts of the epoch between 1862 and 1866 had been carried on seemingly in the face of opposition from the Prussian lower house. This fact in itself serves to indicate the weakness of the constitution as a bulwark of the people's rights. Prussian territory included 134,616 square miles or 64% of all Germany;



COUNT OTTO VON BISMARCK

The artificer of German unity had as his guiding maxim, "To be too logical in politics is frequently a fault which leads to obstinacy. It is necessary to veer with the course of things, with various possibilities; to regulate one's conduct by circumstances and not by a personal opinion which is frequently a prejudice."

its population now numbers 40,000,000 or 61% of the total population of the empire. The control of a state so great in extent and so populous gives its ruler, who is at the same time German Emperor, a tremendous advantage.

The  
Bundesrat

The chief governing bodies of the empire are the Federal Council or Bundesrat and the Imperial Diet or Reichstag. These two bodies may be regarded as forming a sort of parliament, the Bundesrat corresponding to the upper house and the Reichstag to the lower. The analogy, however, is not very close. Each is possessed of separate functions. The Federal Council is in the nature of an advisory board to the Emperor and consists of the personal representatives of the rulers or of the chief governing authority in each of the twenty-five states. Its members are selected by those in authority, be they kings, grand dukes, municipal council (as is the case with Hamburg), or princes. They serve at the pleasure of those who appoint them, doing their bidding in all matters. Since 1911 the imperial vice-royalty of Alsace-Lorraine also sends representatives. The Reichstag represents the people and is chosen by their vote, i.e. by all male Germans over twenty-five years of age. This was Bismarck's concession to the people to make the empire popular with them.

The Reichstag

The imperial government, as contrasted with the governments of the separate states, has charge of all matters pertaining to peace and war, foreign relations, commerce and navigation, banking, etc. The Emperor has power "to declare war, conclude peace, and frame alliances, but the consent of the Federal Council (Bundesrat) is needed for the declaration of war in the name of the Empire." Its consent, however, is not necessary in the case of a defensive war. Sessions of both Bundesrat and Reichstag are convened every year at the call of the Emperor, who may also adjourn and close them. No laws are laid before the Reichstag without first receiving the approval of the Bundesrat. The Imperial Chancellor, the appointee of the Emperor, is his personal representative in these meet-

The Imperial  
Chancellor

ings, either presiding over or supervising their business. Prussia, with its king in the imperial saddle, its seventeen out of sixty-one members in the Bundesrat, and its two hundred and thirty-six out of three hundred and ninety-seven members in the Reichstag, is the dominant factor in shaping the destinies of the imperial fabric. The Prussian constitution, by its denial of equal voting to the masses and its bestowal of unrestricted authority upon its ruler, places the German Emperor in a position comparable to that of no other European monarch save the Russian Tsar.

**144. Bismarck's Domestic Policy.** — This autocratic power and Germany's position in Europe were not maintained by Bismarck during his Chancellorship without a series of struggles. The first foe which appeared was the Church. The contest which ensued will be described in connection with the social transformation of Europe. More formidable, perhaps, was the rising party known as the Social Democrats. It voiced the aspirations and desires of the working classes, and its numbers rapidly increased as Germany turned more and more to industry. Bismarck checked the activity of the Social Democrats by wresting from them some of their most formidable weapons, putting into operation many of their desired reforms, but under imperial rather than popular control. He made the state itself responsible for the care of the worker by laws enforcing compensation in case of accidents and by regulations providing against sickness and a destitute old age. This pension legislation or industrial insurance was a great step toward solving some of the problems consequent upon the industrial revolution, and the present emperor from the outset of his reign has shown his sympathy with and support of such legislation. In spite of these efforts to cut away the ground from beneath the Social Democrats, their number has steadily increased, especially in Prussia, where all efforts to secure equal voting have thus far proved a failure. As the propertied classes receive undue recognition in the government,

**Bismarck's  
Problems**

**Industrial  
Insurance**



there is every reason to expect that the Social Democrats will continue their struggle.

**Bismarck's  
Protective  
Policy**

Another difficulty which faced Bismarck was largely economic in character. It was during Bismarck's period of power that Germany abandoned free trade for a protective policy. Germany seems to have suffered a severe panic about the time our own land was having its financial difficulties (1873). This panic, due in part to overconfidence, following the tremendous payments of the French war indemnity, was partially responsible for the change of policy. The aim of the new policy seems to have been to benefit both farmer and manufacturer. In consequence of the duties on foodstuffs, Germany has been referred to as the land of "dear bread and dear meat." There can be no question of the tremendous advance of industry since 1873, whether the results of these measures or due to other causes. Food is probably no dearer in Germany than in many other countries where the population is dense and industry has the right of way. The attitude of the government toward these questions has been decidedly paternalistic, subsidizing and aiding by every means possible industrial enterprises likely to make for the country's prosperity. By concluding the Triple Alliance, Bismarck made Germany the arbiter of central and western Europe. This combination, which in its early form as the Dual Alliance was designed primarily to check France, gradually came to be one of the great forces responsible for the peace of contemporary Europe.

**Policy of  
William II**

145. **The Reign of William II.** — When William II ascended the throne, it was apparent that a man of no ordinary ability had come upon the scene. He had been called to the throne at the age of 29 on account of the untimely death of his father, who had ruled but 99 days and who was suffering from an incurable disease when he became emperor in 1888. William's reign inaugurated two decided departures from the policies followed by his predecessors. The first was an effort to build up a strong navy. "Our future lies on the water," was his

**The Navy**

now famous utterance. Hand in hand with this resolve to make Germany a naval power was an interest in colonies and in colonial enterprise. Germany's ventures in this field have been described in another connection (see sec. 321). William II also showed the characteristic Hohenzollern interest in the army. His first words upon ascending the throne were addressed to it, and time and again he has emphasized his belief that in a strong army and in military preparedness lies the secret of Germany's future position in Europe.

These convictions of the Emperor have placed a heavy financial burden upon the people and have brought upon him the hostility of the Social Democrats. He has been accused of favoring a comparatively small military party made up of those who have found in the army a career carrying with it social distinction and the special favor of the emperor-king. The comparative success of his naval policy is shown by the fact that in 1914 Germany ranked as the second great naval power in the world. Starting well at the foot of the ladder in 1898, in comparison with the other great powers, this progress is nothing short of remarkable.

One of the most sensational steps taken by the young monarch soon after his accession was the dismissal of Bismarck as



WILLIAM II, THIRD EMPEROR OF  
THE GERMAN EMPIRE

His conception of his office is strikingly similar to that held by Louis XIV, as shown by his own words. In a visitor's register in Munich, he wrote, *Suprema lex regis voluntas esto* (Let the King's will be highest law). The German people regard him as the embodiment of their own virile and efficient ideals.

**The Fall  
of Bismarck**

Chancellor. It was not possible for two such strong wills to work in harmony, and in 1890 the emperor asked for the resignation of his grandfather's trusted counsellor. This was a great blow to the old chancellor and astounded Europe. Ever since this the chancellor has been the mouthpiece of the ruler and has never attained the position of coworker or master, as was the case with Bismarck. Perhaps the most able man called to this position was Prince von Buelow, who held office from 1900 to 1908. His handling of the foreign relations of Germany and his efforts to make her a real world power were marked by conspicuous success.

**Prince von  
Buelow****The Future  
of Germany**

There can be no question but that the present ruler has a high conception of his responsibility to his people and is seeking by every means in his power to identify his own interests with those of the country at large. His efforts to secure markets for German trade throughout the world are a recognition of one of the foundations of Germany's power — her unexampled industries. The great question in Germany today seems to be whether the Prussian imperial system will be maintained in its original form or be seriously modified by giving the people a larger share in the management of their affairs. The European War of 1914 may have much to do with determining this.

**146. The Maintenance of Autocracy in Russia.** — Down to 1855 backwardness and stagnation had been the main characteristics of Russia — that other great representative of the monarchic idea in our day. The Napoleonic wars had done much to arouse Russia to a sense of her greatness, but in spite of the pride felt in the expulsion of Napoleon the people made little progress in the period which followed. The sentimentality of Alexander I, the one-time friend of Napoleon and the originator of the Holy Alliance, counted for little in relieving the wretched condition of the Russian people, and down to the time of the Crimean War the Russian Tsars maintained in their entirety that system of government and those traditions

and customs which had been consecrated by centuries of repression and were so apparent under Peter the Great and Catherine II. Nicholas I, the brother and successor of Alexander I (1825), was an autocrat of the autocrats, remaining true, however, to the ambition of his ancestors to add to his patrimony by encroachments upon his neighbors. One of these enterprises, the Crimean War, as has been pointed out, broke the long spell of peace which prevailed over Europe after the Napoleonic Wars. The interest of these rulers in the Near East is discussed elsewhere. Their ambitions never seemed to be directed toward ameliorating the lot of their subjects. It would seem at times as though they engaged in these wars in order to distract the attention of their people from conditions at home.

**The Russian  
Government  
in 1825**

The Russian people had not been inactive in the years of revolution which marked the first half of the nineteenth century. The death of the sentimental Alexander in 1825 occasioned the first effort to change conditions which was perhaps prompted by his failure to really transmute his promises into deeds. The leaders of this effort were members of the nobility who had imbibed through contact with the French Revolution many of its liberal ideas. The movement came to nothing and was sternly suppressed. The new ruler, Nicholas I, was absolutely fearless and so firm a believer in the superior wisdom of the Tsar that nothing was to be expected from him in the way of reform. He was confronted in 1830 with a revolution in Poland, which he rigorously put down. He even sent troops to assist the ruler of Austria in stamping out the uprising of 1848 in Hungary.

**The Autocracy  
of Nicholas I**

**The  
Decembrist  
Movement**

It was not until his successor, Alexander II, came to the throne, that Russia began to progress towards a more enlightened administration (1855). In the year 1861 — a memorable date in the struggle to rid the United States of human slavery — the Tsar by proclamation freed the 21,000,000 serfs who were attached to the lands of the nobility. This proclamation was followed by others, by which not only all the serfs in Russia were

**Accession of  
Alexander II**

**Emancipation  
of the Serfs**

The <i>Zemstva</i>	freed and set up as proprietors of their farms, but arrangements were made for the participation of the people in local affairs by the creation of <i>zemstva</i> or local assemblies. These were made up of representatives from the peasants and the landed aristocracy. Although these measures were far from perfect and left the peasant burdened with certain obligations with reference to the land which retarded his progress, they were a long step towards placing the masses of the people on the same footing as the other peoples of Europe. The reign of this Tsar Liberator, as he was called from thenceforth, was also marked
Education	by a law throwing the universities open to a larger proportion of the population. These reform movements on the part of the government, however, received a decided setback as a result of the activities of the intellectual and student classes. The Tsar did not move fast enough to suit these ardent apostles of reform; he seemed to hesitate and possibly to regret what he had done.
The Creed of Nihilism	A doctrine known as <i>Nihilism</i> began to be preached by this class which met with wide acceptance. Its followers denied — as the name implies — those things which seemed to be realities, such as government, religion, and property, as they knew them, and proposed to sweep these away and to build anew where they had once been. This negative creed soon gave way to an active programme calling for the elimination by whatever means offered
Assassination of the Tsar	of all those in authority. Bomb throwing and assassination became the order of the day, and the emperor himself fell a victim (1881) at the very moment when he was meditating upon other reform measures to remove the unrest which was everywhere apparent. His death sealed the fate of the Nihilists, as a decided reaction set in against them on the part of the people themselves, and they soon disappeared.
The Reaction towards Absolutism	
The Industrial Revolution and its Effects	By this time Russia had begun to feel the effects of the Industrial Revolution, and since then up to the present day, agitation for reform has been carried on through the factory workers. A protective policy was adopted by her ministers and encouragement was given to foreign capital to invest in Russian mines

and factories. The Tsar and his ministers realized the importance of developing the natural resources of the country and sought to remove every obstacle to Russia's industrial development. Thus lines of railroad began to be built. The most gigantic undertaking of this sort was the Trans-Siberian, already referred to, which was opened in 1902. The name of Count Witte will always be associated with these undertakings. As minister of communications and later as minister of finance, he sought to place the country on a sound financial basis by introducing the gold standard and by providing adequate sources of revenue. The government monopoly in alcohol, which was given up at the outbreak of the War of 1914, was one of his means of providing revenue. He encouraged railroad building and favored a protective policy in order that Russian industries might be placed upon a stable foundation.

Count Witte

The failure of the terrorist movement, as Nihilism was called in its destructive aspects, led the reformers to attempt a propaganda among the workers along socialistic lines, and the Russian people now began to be inoculated with socialistic doctrines and to trust to socialistic reform programs. The new Tsar, Alexander III (1881), was a reactionary, and he associated with him, as both agent and mentor, the head of the Russian Greek Church, Pobyedonostseff, who reminds us of Metternich in his distrust of the people. Parliaments and newspapers were branded as instruments of the Prince of Darkness; "orthodoxy, nationalism and autocracy" became the creed and program of the government. To realize the aim of this program the Jews were persecuted and closely confined to certain well-defined areas known as the Pale, and a harmless, law-abiding dissenting sect was almost suppressed. The other points in this policy were illustrated in the efforts to Russianize the provinces of Finland, Poland, and the German-speaking portions of the Empire, restricting the use of their native tongue and wiping out their local liberties.

Alexander III

Influence of  
PobyedonostseffReligious  
PersecutionRussianizing  
Policy

**147. Nicholas II and the Struggle for Representative Government.** — The present Tsar, who succeeded his father in 1894, has exhibited many of the same tendencies. He is not as pronounced a character as Alexander III and has shown at times a decided leaning towards policies which do not harmonize altogether with the maintenance of autocracy. On the whole, however, his influence has been in the same direction. He was brought up at the feet of Pobyedonostseff, and the struggle to Russianize his subject peoples of other nationalities has been a dark page in the annals of his reign. The first efforts of the government to check the dissatisfaction and disorder which marked the opening months of the war with Japan in 1904-5 resulted in the assassination of Plehve, the Tsar's minister intrusted with the perservation of order. The successive defeats of Russia at the hands of the Japanese were followed by demands which were voiced most loudly by the working classes for a national representative assembly. It had been expected that Alexander's grant of the zemstva would have led to this long before this time, but the forces of autocracy have yielded but slowly to the demands of the hour. A great workingman's demonstration was organized in St. Petersburg, or Petrograd as it is now called, and on a memorable Sunday in January, 1905, thousands of their number marched toward the palace to lay their grievances before the Tsar. The troops were called out and the mob dispersed with considerable loss of life. The unrest continued until finally the Tsar was obliged to issue the so-called October Manifesto (1905), calling for the meeting of a дума to be made up of representatives from all classes of the population. According to the terms of the proclamation no law was to be enacted in the future without its consent. It also promised control of officials by the дума and the recognition throughout the empire of freedom of speech, of religion, press, and assembly and "the widest possible extension of the franchise." This national assembly was to be composed of two houses, the one called a council of the empire and made up partly of officials

Character of  
Nicholas II

Assassination  
of Plehve

The October  
Manifesto

The Дума

appointed from the bureaucracy and partly of elected members, and the other of a lower elective house known as the *duma*. It met May 10, 1906, but again the hopes of the people were doomed to disappointment, as the Tsar, fearful of its power, dissolved the assembly before it could accomplish anything. He called another assembly for the next year, hoping perhaps that he could more easily control it. Meanwhile, several of the radical members of the *duma* had gone to Viborg in Finland and there signed a protest against the action of the government. Among other things this protest urged the people not to pay taxes, nor to grant recruits until the *duma* was restored. The Tsar and his ministers sought by manipulating the electoral laws in their own interest to secure a *duma* more to their liking, but only partially succeeded. This, too, had a brief but stormy career and was dissolved by government decree. The third *duma* met in November, 1907, and, although much less representative than either of its predecessors, exercised a certain amount of control over the Tsar and his ministers. The expenditures of the government were severely criticised as was also the system by which noble families, or relatives of the Tsar, were given important posts in the government. The fourth *duma* is now in session (1917). These meetings of the people's representatives have done much to educate the Russians in the practice of self-government. Their actual legislative achievements, however, have been small, and the whole period has been marked by wholesale arrests, disorder, and stubborn opposition to every reforming tendency.

**The Viborg  
Protest**

**Results  
Accomplished**

**The Russian  
Government**

**The Premier**

With the exception of the powers granted to the *duma*, Russia still remains in her organization the same autocratic empire which Peter the Great bequeathed to his successors. The Tsar is usually assisted in the administration of the government by members of the imperial family, who often occupy responsible positions at the head of the army or navy, or as governors of important provinces. Like his imperial cousin, William II, he selects a premier or right-hand man who is



**The  
Bureaucracy**

intrusted with the general oversight of the country, suggesting and carrying out policies in harmony with the wishes of his august master. The bureaucracy is a tremendous force in Russia. A one-man system, such as prevails there, has made necessary a whole host of employees who may be compared to those which operate a great department store. They are not expected to act upon their own initiative, but get their orders from those higher up until the Tsar himself is reached. It is a very difficult matter to introduce any reforms in a system of this character, as has been demonstrated time and time again. The police and spy system are the instruments by which the Tsar and his minions keep themselves informed of any political activity, and a lonely exile in far-off Siberia or death is the penalty for any agitation which threatens to undermine the power vested in the authorities. Military service is universal. With the increased strength and better organization of the army, revolution has become a more remote possibility.

**Police and Spy  
System****Russia and the  
European War  
of 1914**

It will be noted that every great war in which Russia has participated has been followed by unrest and change. This was true in 1856, in 1878, and again in 1905. The European War of 1914 may have momentous consequences for the Russian Empire and its people. The spread of education will undoubtedly accomplish much in the future as it has in the past. Much is also to be expected from the great material progress attendant upon the Industrial Revolution. The ignorant, superstitious peasant, who forms the backbone of the country, is difficult material out of which to shape an alert, progressive nation.

**148. The Third Republic in France.**— With the exception of the two countries just reviewed, Germany and Russia, much progress toward the democratic ideal is to be noted in the other great states of Europe. It was long after 1870 before the government of France was placed upon a secure foundation, such was the force of her defeat at the hands of Prussia and the

collapse of the hollow system known as the Second Empire. A republic had been immediately proclaimed following the news of the disaster of Sedan. It had to pass through an ordeal of fire, however, before it became the accepted form of government. The crisis was not entirely passed until 1875, and, even after this date, many difficulties had to be surmounted to give the republic that standing and permanence which alone could safeguard its future. In the spring of 1871, Paris became the scene of one of the bloodiest civil wars that history records. The causes are somewhat difficult of analysis, but the working classes, suspecting the National Assembly of treason and wrought up to a high state of nervous tension by the siege through which they had just passed, took up arms against the government following the news of its removal to Versailles. The storm had been brewing for some time. It was in the nature of an anti-climax to the war. The people could not understand why France had failed in this crisis. When, therefore, the National Assembly began to enact laws which bore heavily upon the poorer classes, stopped all payments to the national guard which had been formed from their number, and demanded the payment of debts which had been suspended during hostilities, they were easily aroused to action by some of the bolder spirits. Suspecting the new assembly of monarchistic tendencies, they announced as their platform the transformation of France into a federation of independent municipalities or communes. This avowed aim gave them their name of Communists (or Communards). The red flag was adopted and an organization effected. From the very beginning the provinces refused to follow the example set by Paris, and it was not long before the German army of occupation in Northern France witnessed the strange sight of regular troops besieging the city of Paris, which was held against them by their fellow-countrymen. An entrance was forced and then followed bloody street fighting and a terrible destruction of property, as the Communists set fire to some of the great his-

**Establishment  
of the Republic**

**The  
Communist  
Uprising**

**Destructive  
Character**

toric buildings of the city. No quarter was asked or given, and it is estimated that before the struggle ended 17,000 lives had been sacrificed and 7,500 others had been condemned to exile in New Caledonia. The contest lasted two months.



THE COMMUNISTS' ASSAULT ON THE HOTEL DE VILLE

The Communists set fire to the Tuileries Palace and made an assault on the Hotel de Ville, the city hall. Many women were among the mob. An analogy may be drawn between this movement and the Irish uprising in Dublin in 1916.

This danger passed, the assembly took up its work of constitution-making. In spite of the strength of the friends of monarchy in the assembly, a constitution was finally drawn up guaranteeing a republican form of government, but a republic of a far different character from the one with which we are familiar in this country. The word "republic" scarcely appeared in any of these fundamental or basal regulations, but the govern-

ment of the land was intrusted to a president, a senate, and a chamber of deputies. The senate is composed of 300 members chosen for a term of nine years and selected by an indirect method of voting. The president is elected for seven years by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies in joint session. He is a sort of figurehead, but is charged with the conduct of all foreign affairs and, in conjunction with the two law-making

**The Senate  
and Chamber  
of Deputies**



THE TUILERIES PALACE

One of the beautiful public buildings burned by the Communists. It stood close to the Louvre and was the scene of many brilliant court functions during the reign of Napoleon III.

bodies, the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, participates in legislation. He names the ministry, which, however, is responsible to the two chambers, and its membership therefore is practically determined by them. A failure to follow their leadership in the acts which are passed means that they must immediately resign, however acceptable they may be to the head of the state. The right to vote was conferred upon all male inhabitants over 21. They select the deputies, who are elected for four years.

**The President**

**The Suffrage**

These fundamental laws were so framed, however, as to make

**The Decline of Monarchism**

it easy for a monarchy to be established — at least that was the intention of those who made them. These hopes were doomed to disappointment, although on several occasions France was dangerously near the verge of a restoration of the kingly power. The retention of the bureaucratic system and the placing of all power in the hands of a central authority seemed to make it easy to effect a change to a monarchy. The choice of Marshal MacMahon as President in 1873 was regarded as a step in this direction. The safety of the republic, however, was assured by the divisions among its opponents, as the monarchists could not agree among themselves as to what dynasty to restore. The last danger from this source was in the movement called

**Boulangism**

Boulangism (1886-89). General Boulanger, an elegant gentleman well versed in the art of pleasing and a clever politician, became the centre of plots to restore the monarchy, and his popularity was utilized to bring together all the elements opposed to the government in one great effort to overthrow the republic. The effort failed. The general became frightened at his own temerity and fled the country, leaving his supporters disconcerted and helpless.

**The Panama Scandal**

Later the government was somewhat discredited in the eyes of Europe, first by the Panama Scandal and again in connection with the Dreyfus case. In order to obtain additional funds for their enterprise and at the same time retain the confidence of the French public, the Panama Canal Company resorted to bribery on a large scale, subsidizing prominent newspapers and distributing large sums among the members of the House of Deputies. In 1892 the company was declared bankrupt and the work on the Isthmus came to a standstill.

**The Dreyfus Case**

The Dreyfus case was much more serious. France had not failed to profit by the lesson of 1870-71, and universal military service was made obligatory upon all her citizens by a law enacted the very next year. The Prussian system was introduced with slight modifications. The arbitrary, unjust treatment of Captain Dreyfus, who was accused of betraying military secrets to

the Germans, not only revealed to patriotic Frenchmen the weaknesses which had crept into the standing army and marred its effectiveness, but opened up again the old question of whether the republic was to endure. Captain Dreyfus was a Jew. He was twice tried and convicted. The first time he was sentenced to exile in French Guiana. After his second trial he was pardoned and later was vindicated of all the charges against him. His persecution was in part the result of an anti-Semitic agitation in which all the forces opposed to the republic again combined. Again the combination was in vain; changes were effected by which the army was placed under the more direct control of the state and the republic still further strengthened.

**Anti-Semitism**

All these years an alliance had been maintained between the Catholic Church and the party opposed to the republic. The feeling against the church was becoming more acute with the lapse of time. The story of the final break which separated church and state will be told later.

**Church and State**

**149. The Spread of Constitutional Government and the Extension of the Suffrage.**—This period witnessed notable progress toward the establishment elsewhere of well-ordered, democratic forms of government. The situation in Spain in 1870 had been the occasion for the break between France and Prussia. Spain, then without a ruler, had for some time been torn by civil strife and was a prey to the ambitions of rival factions. For a little more than a year a republic existed, but its foundations were too insecure to make it a permanent arrangement. The people were not ready for such an experiment. Finally, in 1874, a representative of the Spanish Bourbons was acclaimed King by the army, "the most powerful body in the country," and a liberal constitution was adopted upon the lines laid down in England. As is the case in Italy, however, the people have little genius for party government and are still divided into groups where members are more interested in fighting for personal advantage than in furthering the interests of their country.

**Establishment of Constitutional Government in Spain**

**Parties in Spain**

**The Suffrage  
in Austria-  
Hungary**

In Austria-Hungary modifications in the government have been effected in recent years, especially in Austria, by means of which the voting privileges have been extended and the representation widened. The Slavs, however, are still denied any considerable participation in the affairs of the Dual Empire. In Austria the right to vote is enjoyed by practically every male citizen twenty-four years of age or over who has resided at least one year in the district where he votes. In Hungary the Magyar element still retains control, although representing less than half the population. "In an aggregate population of some 20,000,000, today there are not more than 1,100,000 voters." The demands of the disfranchised element have been so strong of recent years that it is very probable that the near future will witness a decided change.

**The Suffrage  
Question  
in Italy**

In Italy the suffrage has been greatly widened. The law of 1912 provides for universal manhood suffrage, except for men under 30 who have neither performed their military service nor learned to read and write. Previous to the passage of this law many were without the ballot because of their inability to satisfy the educational test required in their case. The depths of ignorance into which the population was plunged is clearly demonstrated by the fact that in 1904 only 29% of the male population over 21 were enrolled as voters.<sup>1</sup>

**The Downfall  
of the  
Monarchy  
in Portugal**

One of the minor states of Europe has joined the ranks of the republics in this era — the little state of Portugal. Portugal had long been cursed by faction struggles between the "ins" and the "outs" to control the governmental machinery, which was modelled after that of England, and the rulers showed themselves helpless to prevent the graft and corruption which such a contest fostered. They were probably themselves partners to this plundering process. As time passed the burden of taxation became heavier than the people could bear. When

**Causes**

<sup>1</sup> The democratic wave has even been felt in the Near East in the Young Turk movement, described elsewhere; in the demand for a constitution in Persia; and in the creation of the Chinese Republic.

King Carlos placed Franco over the country as virtual dictator (1907), the people felt that the constitution had been trampled under foot. They immediately showed resentment at this interference with their liberties, and manifested their dissatisfaction in acts of disorder. On Feb. 1, 1908, the king and his oldest son were murdered as they were returning to the palace. The late king's younger son was proclaimed king as Manuel II. He was unable, however, to master the situation, and a civil war broke out in 1910 in which the navy co-operated with the republican element and forced the king to flee. A republic was then proclaimed, a provisional president selected, and this form of government to all appearances is likely to be maintained.

**Murder of  
Royal Family**

**Establishment  
of the Republic**

**The Triumph  
of Nationality  
in Norway**

**Woman  
Suffrage**

**The Extension  
of the Suffrage  
in England**

**Benjamin  
Disraeli  
and Reform  
Bill of 1867**

In the far north the people's yearnings to express their nationality were apparent in the separation of Norway from Sweden, after almost a hundred years of joint rule (1814-1905). The people of Norway chose a relative of the Danish king as their ruler and, in remembrance of the days when the Norsemen ruled the seas, gave him the title of King Haakon. The Norwegians are unique in having recognized the principle of woman suffrage more generally than any other state. They have even made it possible (1913) for them to vote for members of the national legislative body and to sit as members of this body.

The past half century has witnessed a similar progress along democratic lines in England. In 1867 Benjamin Disraeli, who was then a member of the cabinet, recognizing the popularity of a further extension of the franchise and possibly hoping thereby to win votes for his party, carried through parliament a measure by which the workingmen in the cities finally received recognition. Besides providing for further changes in the system of representation, it conferred the privilege of voting upon every person in a borough who owned or rented his house. Lodgers paying £10 a year rent were also included. In the counties all who owned or rented for life land that would yield £5 in rent to the owner and short-time tenants paying a yearly



Gladstone  
and the  
Third Reform  
Bill

rental of £12 were given the suffrage. This excluded the country laborer. He must await the action of Gladstone in 1884, who, as prime minister, carried the Third Reform Bill, placing the right to vote practically upon the basis of manhood suffrage. At this time England was divided as nearly as might be into equal parliamentary districts.

The Problem  
of Militant  
Suffragism



WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

The grand old man of English politics in the 19th century entered politics as a conservative, but became liberal prime minister in 1869 and instituted a policy of internal reform. For the fourth time premier, unsuccessful in securing the assent of the House of Lords to his Home Rule Bill, he resigned his office in 1894, four years before his death. For sixty years he was prominently before the eyes of the English people.

The Land  
Problem

has confronted England in this period has been her relations with Ireland. The solution has taxed the energy and resources of some of her greatest statesmen. For some time previous to 1870 Ireland had been suffering from the curse of absentee landlords, who took as little interest in their Irish tenants and treated them with as small consideration as was the case with

The women have been active in recent years in a campaign to include their sex among the voters. In 1905 they began to resort to tactics which fixed upon them the name of militant suffragettes, destroying property and creating disturbances in order to attract public attention to their demands. The outbreak of the European War in 1914 terminated their activities for the time being.

**150. The Irish Question and the Reform of Parliament.** — One of the most perplexing problems which

the nobles of France and their peasants in the days before the French Revolution. Another evil of long standing which bore heavily upon the people was the financial support demanded for the Anglican Church, an institution in which they did not worship and in which they had not the slightest interest. Ever since the Catholic Emancipation Act a feeling of dissatisfaction was to be detected with the terms of the union with England, and in many quarters it was felt that the Irish were entitled to a greater measure of home rule.

**The Anglican Church**

**The Union with England**

Gladstone's name will always be associated with the Irish problem as the result of the long period of service which he gave to the island. Almost from the outset of his political career his sympathies went out to the Irish, and in 1868 he set himself to ridding Ireland of the incubus of the Anglican Church, carrying a resolution through the Commons in favor of disestablishment. This resolution caused the overthrow of Disraeli, who was then prime minister, and the next year Gladstone as prime minister carried an act providing that the Anglican Church should no longer be recognized as the state church in Ireland, but should be treated as any other church establishment, retaining, however, all its church buildings. Ample provision was also made for its clergy.

**Gladstone and the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church**

Even before Gladstone's advocacy of the cause of the Irish, a great deal of political unrest had manifested itself in the island. This has continued throughout this entire period, from 1870 to the present. Several organizations were formed among the Irish to remedy the existing evils. In some cases, as with the Fenians, who were organized in the late sixties, they went so far as to countenance and encourage conspiracies, having as their aim the overthrow of English rule by force. The most successful of these efforts to secure justice for Ireland was the Irish Land League, which was organized to remedy the abuses associated with land-holding. Their demands were embodied in the three F's — fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale of the tenant's rights. Gladstone's first

**The Fenians**

**The Irish Land League**

**The Irish  
Land Act**

effort to meet these demands by legislation only partially removed the injustices of which they complained, but by the passage of his act of 1881 a better system was introduced, guaranteeing to the tenant a security in his holding, which was unknown before, and compensating him for improvements of a permanent character in case of removal. An opportunity was afforded the peasant farmer of becoming the owner of his land, as the government stood ready to advance the purchase price (under certain conditions), allowing the peasant a certain length of time to repay the loan.

**The Question  
of Home Rule****Parnell and  
the Irish  
Nationalist  
Party**

The agitation over the land question gave way to a more persistent and a more bitter struggle, tending to separate Ireland from England and to place the fortunes of the island in the hands of the native Irish. The Irish Catholics, in particular, felt that England had never understood the Irish situation and that whatever legislation was enacted in the English parliament showed a decided leaning toward the Protestant element in the north. They therefore organized a Home Rule Party to secure a radical rearrangement of the relations between the two islands. An Irish Nationalist party appeared, obstructing legislation in the English Parliament and seeking to attract attention to Irish conditions, allying itself with whichever party seemed inclined to admit the justice of its contentions. Charles Stuart Parnell was its greatest leader. Although he was of English descent and a Protestant, he threw himself heart and soul into the struggle to secure justice for the country of his birth. One of the great difficulties that arose in any readjustment of the relations between the two countries was the enmity and racial differences between Ulster in the north and the Catholic and native element. The Ulstermen did not wish to be at the mercy of these advocates of home rule; they were in the main content to abide by existing arrangements. Gladstone was finally convinced of the merits of home rule and spent the closing years of his political activity in a vain effort to realize it. It is a question which time has not settled and it still remains one of the great issues.

**Opposition  
of Ulster**



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

The finest view of the Parliament Houses is gained from the Thames River, along which they extend for nearly a thousand feet. The larger tower, named after Queen Victoria, is three hundred and forty feet high; the famous clock tower, seen at the right, is twenty feet lower and contains the great bell, known as "Big Ben," which booms out the hours. The buildings cover an area of eight acres, and contain hundreds of rooms and miles of corridors.

**The Home Rule Bill**

A most bitter struggle was on between the Ulstermen and the rest of Ireland when the war broke out in 1914. The ministry and parliament, convinced at last of the necessity of a change, had enacted a home rule bill providing for a separate parliament for Ireland to legislate upon local matters, but allowing a certain number of Irish representatives to sit in the imperial parliament, as it was to be known, to act upon matters of defence and the like which applied to the whole empire. The Ulster counties were allowed to vote as to whether they would enter into the arrangement or remain as they were for six years. It was intimated by the supporters of the act that at the end of this time some provision would be made for a federal union acceptable to them. So aroused were the opponents of the measure that volunteers were enrolled in Belfast and other cities of the north, and a civil war seemed imminent. Until the spring of 1916, the European War seemed to have obliterated these differences for the time being, and the home rule problem seemed to be in abeyance. Then came the misguided movement under Sir Roger Casement and the Sinn Fein Society. Relying upon German assistance, a revolt was started in Dublin which was sternly suppressed. Several of the leaders were executed, among them Sir Roger Casement.

**Prospects of Civil War****Lloyd George and the Reform of Parliament**

The English constitution has recently experienced a decided modification in the curtailment of the power of the House of Lords. The question of the right of this body to block measures passed by the lower house had been raised many times in history, but without result. The attempt of Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer to carry a somewhat unusual budget through both houses in 1909 forced the question to an issue. The government had been running behind financially, and new means of taxation had to be devised to cover the increasing expenditures and deficit. Lloyd George conceived the idea of placing a heavier burden upon the wealthy classes, especially those in possession of great estates or valuable city properties. The lords were directly affected by these levies and time and

**The Budget of 1909**

again interposed their veto. This right to kill a measure by a veto was contested, and a bill was finally passed (1911) providing (1) that the Lords could not veto a money bill and (2) that any measure which had passed the Commons in three successive sessions and had been vetoed by the upper house should become a law without their approval, providing two years had elapsed since its introduction. This was a definite triumph for the principle of democracy, as the House of Lords was one of the few twentieth century survivals of the power of the old aristocratic families of England.

In England we find developed most thoroughly the system of representative government. With this principle was also developed that of popular liberty. These two ideals are fundamental to our own government, and therefore it is of especial value for us to summarize first the rights enjoyed by Englishmen and, because won by Englishmen, enjoyed by Americans; and

second, the essentials of the government of England today. When one examines the amendments to the United States Constitution, there appear the rights won by Englishmen during a struggle lasting many centuries while continental Europe groaned under the tyranny of feudal lords or "Divine right" rulers. These basic rights may be summarized briefly as follows: (1)

**Veto Power  
of House  
of Lords**



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

**Summary of  
the English  
Government  
of Today**

Premier David Lloyd George is the foremost man in British politics. In Asquith's cabinet, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was the real force behind the reform measures of the ministry and is an outspoken champion of democratic ideas. In the war cabinet, he filled with distinction the highly important position of Minister of Munitions, and his services in organizing the industrial forces of the country on a scale of high efficiency made him the man of the hour.

freedom of religion; (2) freedom of speech and of the press; (3) freedom of assembly and of petition for a redress of grievances; (4) security of person and property; (5) just trials by jury and reasonable penalties.

Parliamentary government in England won a complete triumph by the Act of 1911. In form a monarchy, the government in some respects responds more directly and quickly to the popular will than in the United States. The reformed House of Lords is composed of (1) peers of England by descent or by new creation; (2) lords spiritual, *i.e.* the two archbishops and certain bishops of the Anglican Church; (3) sixteen Scottish peers elected for the term of parliament to represent the whole body of Scottish noblemen, and twenty-eight Irish peers elected for life to represent the whole body of Irish nobles; and (4) four leading representatives of the most eminent authorities on law, chosen for life. A drastic reconstitution of the House of Lords was considered by the ministry in 1911, and further changes may be expected after the unusual conditions produced by the European War of 1914 have been eliminated.

#### The Lords

#### The Commons

The British House of Commons is composed of 670 members: 465 for England, 30 for Wales, 72 for Scotland, and 103 for Ireland. They are chosen in a general election and hold office for 5 years, unless parliament is previously dissolved. Whenever a vacancy occurs, a special or by-election is held to fill the office. After a general election has shown which party the people wish to hold office, the leader of that party in parliament becomes premier, or prime minister. He chooses from parliament those members of his party who will work in sympathy with him to fill the important cabinet offices. After a merely formal acceptance of this list of names by the ruler, the new cabinet begins its work, which is to formulate the policy of the state concerning all important matters and to present for parliament's consideration bills embodying this policy. If the cabinet, or "government," as it is popularly called, fails to secure the passage of an important measure or is subjected to a vote

#### The "Government" or Cabinet



THE HOUSE OF LORDS IN 1901

The Lord High Chancellor, Lord Halsbury, is speaking. In 1911 he led the "Die Hards," the peers who resolved to vote against the Parliament Bill even though Prime Minister Asquith had obtained the king's consent to create a sufficient number of peers to outvote the lords on this bill. Two premiers are shown, Lord Salisbury, Prime Minister in 1901, a little above and to the left of the centre, Lord Rosebery, Prime Minister in 1894, standing at the rear left. The lords spiritual, in ecclesiastical vestments, are behind the Chancellor. The present king, George V, then the Prince of Wales, is seated, with his hat on, near Rosebery.





#### THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Arthur J. Balfour, a nephew of Salisbury, and his successor in the premiership in 1902, is speaking. The Speaker, in wig, at right, does not occupy his usual place, the raised platform back of the table in the left foreground. The members are seated on long benches, the party in power (Conservatives), at the right, and the opposition at the left of the Speaker. Among the members may be distinguished the following at the left: front row, third, Mr. Asquith, Premier 1908-16, and fourth, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Premier 1906-8. The best-known conservative is Joseph Chamberlain, the sixth on the front row.

of censure, it may either resign, thus giving way to a new cabinet representing the opposition party, or ask the king to dissolve parliament, thereby appealing to the voters to elect a new House of Commons in which the ministry's party shall have a larger majority.

**151. The Separation of Church and State in Europe.**—Europe has not only been undergoing a political transformation since 1870, but has likewise been experiencing radical social and intellectual changes. References have already been made to the changed relations between church and state in Ireland. A similar step was taken in Wales (1914), where the bulk of the population worshipped in other churches.<sup>1</sup>

Disestablish-  
ment in Wales

Upon the continent the power of the church was still felt in politics, especially in France and Italy. Mention has been made of the support given by the church to the foes of the newly formed French republic. This attitude was bitterly resented by the civil authorities, especially after the Dreyfus scandal, and efforts began to be directed toward dissolving the bonds which united the two. The leaders of the church showed an unwillingness to coöperate with the government, and the government felt compelled to take steps separating church and state. The change was accompanied by rioting and the destruction of property by Catholic partisans. By the law of 1905 the Concordat of 1801 was set aside, but the people were allowed to form associations for the conduct of religious worship. These do not receive any aid or support from the state. The church property was to be at the disposal of these "Associations of Worship." The opposition of Pope Pius X to these arrangements prompted the passing in 1907 of a law by which the use of the churches was to be gratuitous and regulated by contracts between the governing authorities and the priests. Ecclesiastical buildings other than churches have been taken over by the government and put to other uses.

Separation  
in France

<sup>1</sup> The act was suspended until after the European War of 1914.

**Situation  
in Italy**

In Italy the occupation of Rome in 1871 placed the Italian government in an embarrassing position with reference to the pope, who thereafter regarded himself as a prisoner in the Vatican. The Catholic Church continued to be the religion of the state, and similar conditions prevailed in Italy as in France.



**Leo XIII**

Those Catholics whose loyalty to the papacy outweighed their patriotism formed a clerical clique and obstructed many of the measures undertaken by the government. When Leo XIII became pope, he showed a greater breadth of view and a better appreciation of the situation than his predecessor, and his attitude did much to smooth over the difficulties which arose between the papal court and the government. His successor,

**Pius X**

**POPE LEO XIII**

Pope Pius X, although respon-

sible in part for the crisis in France, succeeded in maintaining in Italy the conditions which prevailed under his predecessor.

The relations between church and state are still determined by the Law of Papal Guarantees passed in 1871. The object sought by this law was the ideal of Cavour, a "free church in a free state." By its provisions the pope's person is declared sacred and inviolable; he has his own court and diplomatic representatives, his own postal and telegraph service; and certain places have been set apart as entirely under his sovereignty.

Bismarck was involved in a bitter struggle with the Catholic Church in Germany in the early part of the period. In his efforts to strengthen the power of the state in Prussia, especially in its control of education, he encountered opposition from the Catholics and succeeded in securing the passage of some very

oppressive measures known as the May Laws. "We will not go to Canossa," was his famous utterance, in which he likened the situation to the mediaeval contest between Henry IV and Pope Gregory. The struggle was known as the Kulturkampf, or war with the church. Recognizing socialism and not the church as his real opponent, Bismarck effected a compromise with the latter upon the accession of Leo XIII, whom he believed friendly to him.

**Bismarck and  
the May Laws**

The spread of secular education gave rise to conflicts between the church and people in Spain, where the Catholic Church retains perhaps as great power as anywhere in Europe, but thus far no radical change has taken place. The establishment of a republic in Portugal was the signal for a violent expulsion of the religious orders from the country and the separation of church and state, as these changes were an essential part of the republican program. Everywhere, with the possible exception of the Balkan region, the hold of the church upon the people as an institution has been weakened. This does not necessarily imply any abandonment of religion, but a denial to the church organism of that authority which had its origin in the dark ages. Everywhere the power of the people has been in evidence, seeking to throw off anything savoring of tyranny, be it in the domain of politics or of religion.

**152. The Spread of Socialism and the Increase of Social Legislation.** — The spread of socialism and of socialistic teachings has undoubtedly encouraged this tendency, and every country has witnessed an increase both in the number of the socialists and in their political activity. Today the Social Democrats are credited with 110 out of the 397 members in the Reichstag. In France they are very strongly represented in the Chamber of Deputies and have been recognized in the make-up of ministries; for example, the Socialist Briand is now serving for the third time as premier, and his predecessor, Viviani, is also a member of a socialist party. In Italy they are likewise an

**In France**

aggressive element, but have perhaps taken a less conspicuous part in the management of affairs.

#### **In Germany**

So powerful did the socialists become in Germany in the first decade of the Empire that Bismarck was alarmed over the situation and sought by repressive legislation on the one hand and by relief measures on the other to undermine their power and alleviate social unrest. The tremendous industrial development which marked these years brought with it an increase in the industrial population and gave rise to problems similar to those which accompanied the Industrial Revolution elsewhere.

#### **Social Legislation in England**

Although the socialists have never been powerful as a political party in England, schemes of social reform have occupied the attention of parliament as in no other part of Europe, except perhaps in Germany. This has been in response to a demand — not always voiced by the workers themselves but no less clearly recognized — that something be done to remove the curse of poverty and the misery so common in many of the great industrial centres. Investigations carried on by experts in London and in York revealed the most glaring conditions and showed the necessity of remedial legislation. The early factory legislation had done much to improve the lot of the workers, but had neither raised wages nor remedied the demoralizing effect of irregular employment. Beginning in 1906, parliament, therefore, passed employer's compensation laws, compulsory insurance acts, and old age pensions, striving to safeguard at one and the same time both state and worker.

#### **Workingmen's Compensation**

In 1906 a Workingmen's Compensation Act made every employer liable for compensation in case of injury, except where the employee had been guilty of "serious and wilful misconduct." The law, as finally enacted, protects all manual laborers and domestic servants receiving less than £250 a year. The Old Age Pension Act of 1909 awards a pension to every person, male or female, over seventy years of age who has been a British subject for twenty years and a resident of Great Britain for twelve, provided his or her income

#### **Old Age Pensions**

is less than £31.10s. The most recent act, that of 1911, provides a system of insurance, designed (1) to safeguard workers in the case of loss of health; (2) to prevent and cure sickness, and (3) to insure against unemployment. All workers having less than a specified income from property must insure and pay a certain quota themselves. The balance is made up by contributions from the state and the employer. In certain cases, where the wages are very low, the worker's share falls upon the employer. In return for these payments the worker is entitled to sick benefits, free medical attendance, and free treatment at hospitals to be supplied by the state. The provision against unemployment only applies to two trades, building and engineering, and provides for payments in case of unemployment not due to misconduct, strikes, or lockouts. The fund is maintained by contributions from the employees, the employers, and the state. These measures were carried through parliament largely through the instrumentality of Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the most commanding figures of recent times. Lloyd George

With this legislation went an effort, for which Lloyd George was also responsible, to shift the burden of taxation to shoulders better able to bear the load, as was illustrated by his budget of 1909, which occasioned the bitter struggle between the House of Commons and the House of Lords. As the worker is also a voter and his voting strength is on the increase, the party in power must aim to preserve his support if it would hold its power.

In France the form of socialism known as Syndicalism has secured a strong foothold and from there has spread to other parts of the world. The Syndicalists would organize all workingmen into one grand consolidated union in order to dominate the whole field of industry by the strength of their numbers and solidarity. As yet they have had little influence in shaping legislation. The power of the industrial classes was illustrated in the great railway strike of 1910, which threatened Syndicalism in France

to paralyze industry throughout the country. Briand made his name famous by breaking the strike. He summoned all the railroad employees back to their work by issuing a military call to the colors — a summons which no patriotic Frenchman could well refuse to heed.

**153. Intellectual and Scientific Progress in Europe.** — The various measures to which references have been made indicate an intellectual progress on the part of the people of Europe during this period which itself calls for special mention. This was the age of Darwin, the author of a theory of the origin of species which shook the scientific world to its very foundations. His results, published in 1859, have furnished the basis for much of the study of biology since that time. The greatest work of Pasteur was done during this period, and his researches have had much to do with the elimination of disease and suffering. The progress in sanitation has enabled the United States Government to carry to a successful conclusion a great work such as the Panama Canal, as the scourges of malaria and of yellow fever were responsible in no small measure for the failure of the French company to complete the task. Roentgen and his X-rays have given us a new science, that of radiography, and illustrate the scientific marvels of the present age. These and other discoveries in the fields of physics, chemistry, and mathematics helped to make possible the wonderful results in the industrial world which were described in a preceding chapter.

With this intellectual progress woman has been still further emancipated from her position of inferiority and has demonstrated as never before her ability to compete with man in the various spheres of activity open to both. She has been admitted to higher institutions of learning and has entered many of the professions. In some cases, as has been noted, she has been intrusted with the ballot and with political office. The names of women are to be found in ever-increasing numbers among the great leaders of thought and among the benefactors of mankind.

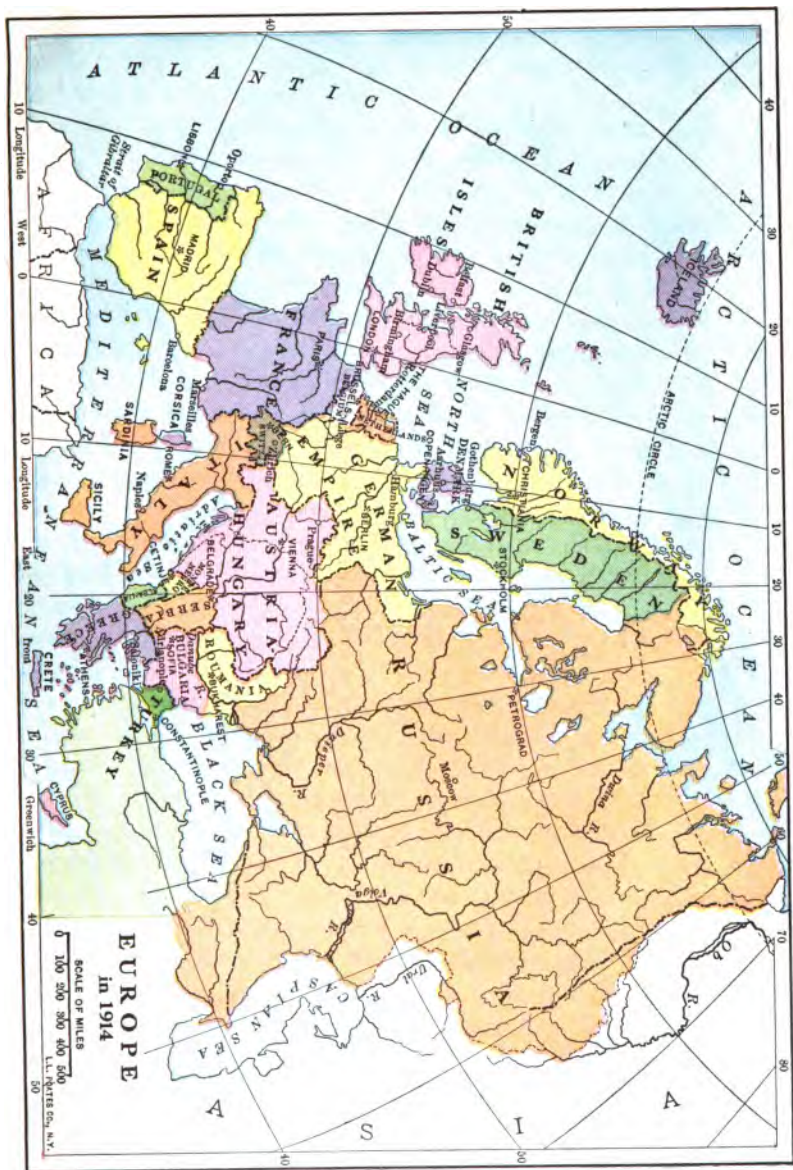
Taking Europe as a whole, one of the most important ten-

Darwin

Pasteur

The X-rays

The  
Emancipation  
of Woman







dencies of recent times has been a concerted movement in favor of peace — a peace secured not at the expense of costly armaments and heavy war budgets, crushing the people under their weight, but a peace resting upon the more permanent foundation of reason and good will. The necessity for a readjustment of their relations to each other was brought home to each nation with greater force as time passed and their rivalry became more acute in the economic and political world. Many of the states felt that their internal development was seriously handicapped and retarded by the diversion of so much of their labor and wealth into channels which yielded little real return. The world was surprised in 1898 by the announcement that the autocratic ruler of Russia, the Tsar Nicholas II, had summoned all the powers represented at his court to a congress to consider the advisability of lightening the military burdens under which their peoples staggered. In 1899, in response to the call, the first Hague Conference assembled to discuss his proposals. The opposition of Germany to any change in her military system shattered the hope of a general disarmament, but the delegates agreed to maintain a permanent court of arbitration at the Hague to which nations might submit their differences if they so desired. The conference gave a great impetus to the use of arbitration and mediation, and when the second conference met in 1907 the advocates of peace won still further advantages which, however slight, seemed to bring nearer the desired goal. This second conference was much more representative in character than the first, so much so in fact that it savored more of an international congress than a European assembly. Many obstacles block the path to the attainment of world peace. "The vested interests which thrive on armaments, the Yellow Press which lives by sensation, the nervous patriot who dreams of invasion, the soldier who glorifies the bracing influence of war, are formidable but not insuperable obstacles to the reign of law." The existence of interparliamentary unions, and the peace propaganda of individuals like Andrew Carnegie, Baron

Etournelles de Constant, and Baroness von Suttner are little by little bearing fruit. Although unable to prevent the European War of 1914, their labors have made the people realize as never before the horrors and disasters consequent upon war.

#### SUGGESTIVE TOPICS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. What restrictions were placed on the Roman Catholic Church by Bismarck?
2. Show in tabular form the government of the German Empire, making as column headings: elements; how chosen; term; powers; limitations.
3. Show that the Hohenzollerns believe in the Divine Right of Kings.
4. To what extent is the question of states' rights also a German problem?
5. Define "kulturkampf."
6. To what did Bismarck refer when he said, "We will not go to Canossa."
7. Explain the origin of the socialist movement in Germany and give a biographical sketch of Karl Marx.
8. Explain how Germany provides for the working class.
9. Discuss Bismarck's views concerning protection.
10. What are the main features of Germany's protectionist system?
11. Review the growth of the Russian empire touching on these topics: the dukes of Moscow; the Golden Horde; Ivan the Terrible; Peter the Great; Catherine the Great; Alexander I.
12. Explain the origin and growth of nihilism.
13. Comment upon the phrase "serf of the state."
14. Give an account of the industrial revolution in Russia and discuss its political results.
15. Compare Witte with Colbert.
16. Discuss these topics: censorship of the press; bureaucracy; Russification of Finland; policy of Plehve; "Bloody Sunday"; terrorists; zemstva; duma; general strike; "Black Hundred"; Council of the Empire.
17. Under what circumstances was the Third Republic of France established?
18. Compare the invasions of France of 1870 and 1914.
19. Give an account of the commune and distinguish between a communist and a socialist.
20. Show in tabular form similar to that in question 2 the present government of France.
21. Give an account of the origin and outcome of the Dreyfus case.
22. Summarize the history of Spain from the time of Napoleon to the present day, touching on these topics: conditions in Spain during Napoleon's rule; the constitution of 1812; the restoration of the Bourbons; the question of the Spanish candidature; the Carlist revolt; Spain since 1870.
23. Describe the Italian constitution.
24. Discuss the extension of the suffrage in Italy.
25. Discuss the ideals of the political parties of modern Italy.
26. Give an account of the ministry of Crispi.
27. What are the chief problems of modern Italy?
28. What is meant by the "Victorian Era"?
29. Give biographical sketches of Disraeli and Gladstone.
30. Show that parliament really rules England.
31. Contrast the responsiveness of the British and American governments to popular will.
32. Contrast the abolition of religious grievances in France, Germany, and England.
33. What is the Irish question?
34. Summarize the main points in the relations between England and Ireland since the outbreak of the

European War of 1914. 35. Give the provisions of recent British legislation concerning taxation, old age pensions.

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#### SUGGESTIONS FOR MAP WORK

1. On an outline map of Europe indicate the geographical location of industries.
2. On an outline map of Europe show the territorial arrangement of Europe at the present time.
3. Show the distribution of the principal races.
4. Of population.
5. On an outline map of the British Isles indicate all places mentioned in this chapter.

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## APPENDIX I

### IMPORTANT EVENTS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

- 1682-1725** Peter the Great
- 1688** The Glorious Revolution in England
- 1689** Bill of Rights
- 1697** Peace of Ryswick
- 1701** Act of Settlement in England
- 1701-1714** War of the Spanish Succession
- 1703** Methuen Treaty between England and Portugal
- 1707** Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland
- 1709** Pultava
- 1713** Peace of Utrecht
- 1740-1786** Frederick the Great (born in 1712)
- 1740-1748** War of the Austrian Succession
- 1748** Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle
- 1751-1761** Struggle for India
- 1754** Albany Congress. Franklin's Plan
- 1754-1763** French and Indian War
- 1756-1763** Seven Years' War
- 1765** Stamp Act
- 1770-1782** Lord North's Ministry
- 1772** First Partition of Poland
- 1775-1783** War for American Independence
- 1783** Peace of Versailles
- 1783-1801** Ministry of William Pitt the Younger
- 1787** Assembly of Notables
- 1789** Meeting of the Estates General
- 1789** Fall of the Bastille. Abolition of Privilege. Declaration of the Rights of Man. Removal of the King and Queen to Paris.
- 1791-1792** Legislative Assembly
- 1792** Outbreak of War between France and Europe
- 1792-1795** National Convention
- 1792** September Massacres. Abolition of the Monarchy in France
- 1793** Execution of Louis XVI
- 1793** Committee of Public Safety
- 1793-1794** Reign of Terror
- 1794** Fall of Robespierre (Thermidor)

## 408 ESSENTIALS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

- 1795-1799** The Directory
- 1795** Final Partition of Poland
- 1796** Bonaparte's Campaign in Italy
- 1797** Peace of Campo Formio
- 1798** Battle of the Nile
- 1799** Bonaparte's Coup-d'État
- 1799-1804** The Consulate
- 1800** Marengo. Hohenlinden
- 1801** Parliamentary Union of Ireland with Great Britain
- 1802** Peace of Amiens
- 1804-1814** Napoleon I, Emperor
- 1805** Trafalgar. Austerlitz
- 1806** End of the Holy Roman Empire. Jena
- 1806** Berlin Decree
- 1807** Abolition of the Slave Trade by England
- 1807** Friedland. Peace of Tilsit
- 1807** Orders in Council blockading France
- 1807** Milan Decree
- 1808-1814** Peninsular War
- 1809** Wagram
- 1812** Invasion of Russia
- 1813-1814** War of Liberation
- 1813** Dresden. Leipzig, "Battle of the Nations"
- 1814** First Abdication of Napoleon
- 1814-1815** Congress of Vienna
- 1814** Invention of the Locomotive
- 1815** Waterloo. Foundation of the Holy Alliance
- 1819** Carlsbad Decrees
- 1821-1832** War of Greek Independence
- 1830** July Revolution at Paris
- 1830** Opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway
- 1830-1848** Reign of Louis Philippe
- 1830** Independence of Belgium
- 1832** First Reform Act in England
- 1833** Formation of the Zollverein
- 1837-1901** Reign of Queen Victoria
- 1838** Beginning of the Chartist Movement. Anti-corn Law League
- 1840** Penny Postage in England
- 1842** Treaty of Nanking between England and China
- 1846** Repeal of the Corn Laws
- 1848** February Revolution in Paris. Revolutions in Italy, Austria and Germany
- 1848-1849** Parliament of Frankfurt
- 1850** Conference at Olmütz
- 1851** Coup-d'État of Louis Napoleon
- 1852-1870** Second French Empire
- 1854-1856** Crimean War

- 1857-1858 Sepoy Mutiny
- 1858-1860 Treaties of Tien-tsin and Peking
- 1859 War of France and Sardinia against Austria. Solferino
- 1860 Expedition of Garibaldi
- 1861-1888 Reign of William I of Prussia (German Emperor after 1871)
- 1864 War of Austria and Prussia against Denmark
- 1866 Austro-Prussian War. Königratz
- 1866 Atlantic Cable Successful
- 1867 Second Reform Act in England
- 1867 Dominion of Canada
- 1869 Disestablishment of the Irish Church
- 1869 Opening of the Suez Canal
- 1870-1871 Franco-German War
- 1870 Sedan. Establishment of the Third Republic in France
- 1870 Irish Land Act
- 1871 Establishment of the German Empire. Peace of Frankfort
- 1871 Abolition of Feudalism in Japan
- 1875 Adoption of a Republican Constitution in France
- 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish War
- 1878 Peace of San Stefano. Congress of Berlin
- 1879 Dual alliance between Austria-Hungary and Germany (not public until 1888)
- 1881 Gladstone's Irish Land Act
- 1882 Triple Alliance between Austria, Germany and Italy
- 1884 Berlin Conference
- 1885 Third Reform Act in England
- 1888 Beginning of the reign of William II of Germany
- 1890 Dismissal of Bismarck
- 1892 Witte Minister of Finance in Russia
- 1892-1894 Last Ministry of Gladstone
- 1894 The Dreyfus case
- 1894-1895 War between Japan and China
- 1897 Lease of Kiao-chao by Germany
- 1898 Spanish-American War
- 1898 Lease of Port Arthur by Russia
- 1898 Lease of Wei-hai-wei by England
- 1899 First Hague Peace Conference
- 1899-1902 Boer War
- 1900 The Boxer Revolt
- 1900 Buelow Chancellor of Germany
- 1900 Commonwealth of Australia
- 1901 Death of Queen Victoria. Accession of Edward VII
- 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance
- 1902 Education Act in England
- 1903 Irish Land Act
- 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War
- 1905 Fall of Port Arthur. Mukden.

## **410 ESSENTIALS IN MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY**

- 1905** Separation Law of Church and State in France
- 1906** The First Duma
- 1906** Workingmen's Compensation Act in England
- 1908** Young Turk Movement in Ottoman Empire. Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Independence of Bulgaria
- 1908** Asquith prime minister
- 1908** Annexation of Congo Free State by Belgium
- 1909** Old Age Pension Act in England
- 1909** Revolution in Constantinople. Accession of Mohammed V
- 1909** Lloyd George's Budget
- 1910** The Union of South Africa
- 1910** Establishment of the Republic of Portugal
- 1911** Parliament Act in England
- 1911** Chinese Republic Proclaimed
- 1911-1912** The Turco-Italian War
- 1912-1913** The Balkan Wars
- 1914** Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales
- 1914** Asquith's Home Rule Bill. Discontent in Ulster
- 1914** Outbreak of The European War
- 1914** England announces the annexation of Cyprus and Egypt
- 1915** Entrance of Italy into The European War
- 1915** Bulgaria joins the Central Powers
- 1916** Entrance of Roumania into The European War

## APPENDIX II

### GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

[Books marked (\*) are especially useful for high school classes.]

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- Asakawa.....The Russo-Japanese Conflict.....Houghton Mifflin. \$2.00
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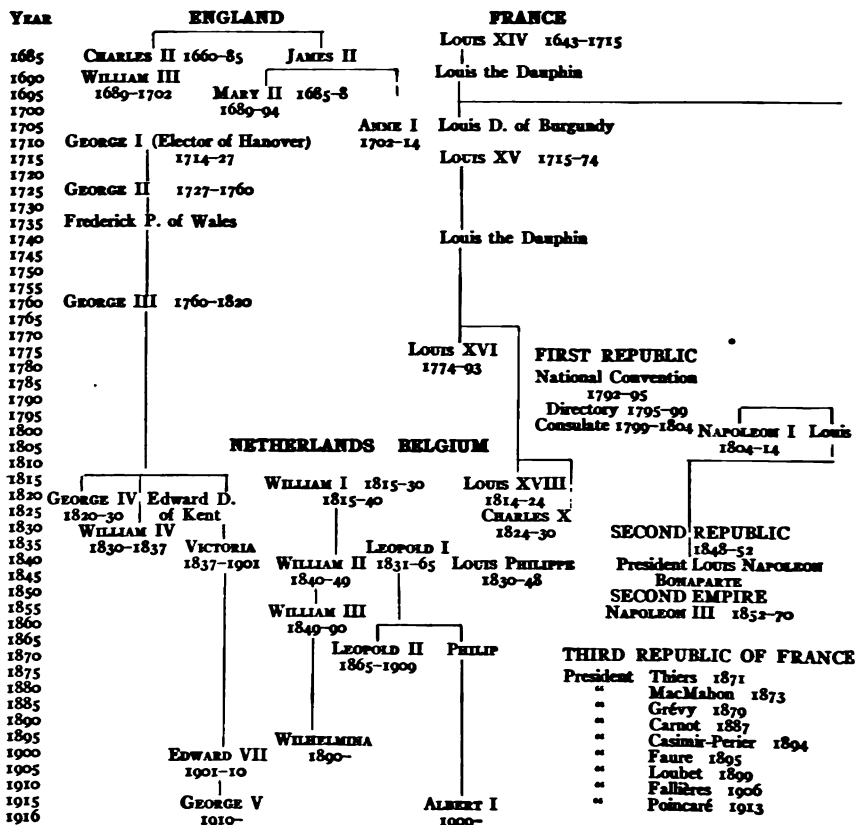
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- Schurman**.....The Balkan Wars.....Princeton Press. \$1.00
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- Sheip and Bacon**....Hand-book of the European War...Wilson Company. \$1.00
- \* **Shepherd**.....Historical Atlas.....Holt. \$2.50
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- Stephens**.....Revolutionary Europe.....Rivingtons (Macmillan).  
\$1.75
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Press. \$1.50

<b>Stryiński</b> .....	The Eighteenth Century in France ..	Putnam.	<i>Net</i> , \$2.50
<b>Synge</b> .....	Social Life in England .....	Barnes.	<i>Net</i> , \$1.50
<b>Thurston</b> .....	Economics and Industrial History for Secondary Schools .....	Scott, Foresman.	\$1.10
* <b>Thwaites</b> .....	The Colonies .....	Longmans.	\$1.25
* <b>Tickner</b> .....	Social and Industrial History of England .....	Longmans.	<i>Net</i> , \$1.00
* <b>Tower</b> .....	Germany of To-day .....	Holt.	\$.50
<b>Toynbee</b> .....	The Industrial Revolution .....	Longmans.	<i>Net</i> , \$1.00
<b>Traill</b> .....	Social England .....	Putnam.	12 volumes. \$35.00
* <b>Tuell and Hatch</b> .....	Selected Readings in English His- tory .....	Ginn.	\$1.40
<b>Van Bergen</b> .....	Story of Russia .....	American Book Com- pany.	\$.65
<b>Van Tyne</b> .....	The American Revolution .....	Harper.	\$2.00
<b>Wakeman</b> .....	European History, 1598-1715 .....	Macmillan.	\$1.75
* <b>Webster</b> .....	General History of Commerce .....	Ginn.	\$1.40
<b>West</b> .....	American History and Government ..	Allyn and Bacon.	\$2.00
	Source Book in American History ..	Allyn and Bacon.	\$1.50
<b>White</b> .....	A Text-book of the War .....	Putnam.	\$1.00
<b>White and Notestein</b> ..	Source Problems in English History ..	Harper.	\$1.30
<b>Wilson</b> .....	Clive .....	Macmillan.	\$.75

**APPENDIX III**  
**SYNCHRONOLOGICAL CHARTS**

## A SYNCHRONOLOGICAL CHART SHOWING THE RULERS OF

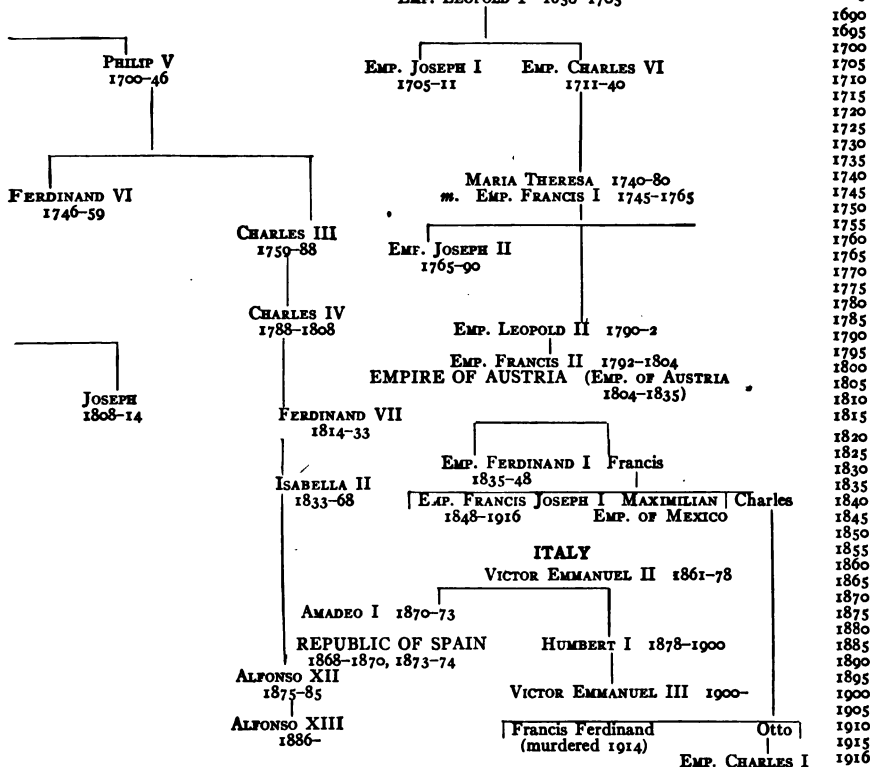


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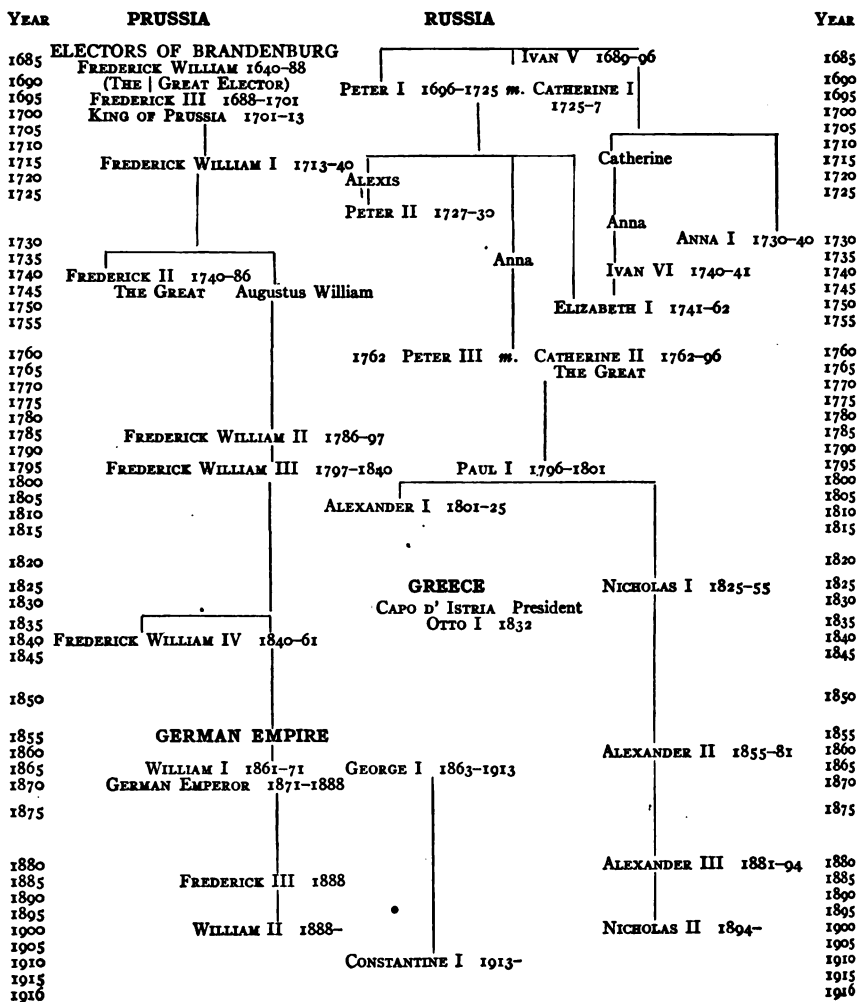
**YEAR**

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

**THE EMPIRE**  
**EMP. LEOPOLD I 1658-1705**



A SYNCHRONOLOGICAL CHART SHOWING THE RULERS OF THE  
PRINCIPAL EUROPEAN STATES FROM 1688 TO 1916—*Continued.*



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